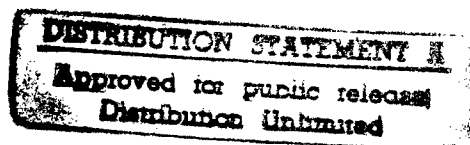


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JPRS-UKO-85-016

7 October 1985



# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 10, July 1985

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7 October 1985

# USSR REPORT

## TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 10, July 1985

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : TRANSLATION FROM KOMMUNIST, No 10  
July 1985

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

Author(s) :

Editor(s) : R. I. Kosolapov

Publishing House : Izdatelstvo "PRAVDA"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : July 1985

Signed to press : 3 July 1985

Copies : 930,000

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"Kommunist", 1985

# INFORMATION REPORT ON THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

LD011044 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85)  
p 3

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held its regular plenum on 1 July 1985.

The plenum examined questions of the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet 11th Convocation.

CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade M. S. Gorbachev delivered a speech on these questions at the plenum.

The plenum stressed the need for persistently perfecting the activity of soviets of peoples' deputies, exact implementation of its functions by each link of the political system of our society, further enhancement of the leading role of the party and consolidation of its influence on all sectors of state, economic and sociocultural construction.

The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee examined organizational issues.

Comrade G. V. Romanov's request to relieve him of the duties of member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in connection with retirement on health grounds was satisfied.

The plenum made alternate member, Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze full member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and elected Comrade B. N. Yeltsin and Comrade L. N. Zaykov secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee.

With this plenum of the CPSU Central Committee ended its work.

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CSO: 1802/16-F

SPEECH BY M. S. GORBACHEV AT THE MEETING WITH THE COLLECTIVE OF THE  
DNEPROPETROVSK METALLURGICAL PLANT IMENI G. I. PETROVSKIY 26 JUNE 1985

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85) pp 4-13

[Text] In planning my trip to the Ukraine, M. S. Gorbachev said, I firmly intended to visit Dnepropetrovsk, this largest center of socialist industry, where I had never been before. I am pleased today by the opportunity to become acquainted with the life of your collective, which is one of the great detachments of the working class, and to greet you warmly on behalf of our party's Central Committee and the Soviet government.

To a party worker, meetings with Soviet people are of tremendous importance. Constant live ties with workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and the youth are the essential meaning of party work. That is what V. I. Lenin taught us, emphasizing that the party worker must always remain in the thick of the masses. This is also indicated by our party's tremendous practical experience.

It is precisely this approach to party work which is a guarantee for the successful solution of economic, political and educational problems and which offers extensive opportunities for the organization of the people for joint struggle and work and for constantly checking our party concepts against life and the priceless experience of the working people.

This applies to all party workers, whatever their jobs: in the primary party organization, the rayon, city, oblast or republic party committees or the CPSU Central Committee.

Whereas this approach was necessary in the past as well, it is doubly and triply more justified today, when we have entered an important stage in our country's socioeconomic development and when we face new difficult yet noble tasks.

This, actually, is what dictated the present trip to the Ukraine and, particularly, to Dnepropetrovsk and the visit to your enterprise. This is the essential meaning of our talk, the organization of which I requested of your republic's leaders.

To begin with, however, I would like to share my impressions from my acquaintainship with the work and life of your labor collective. Let me frankly say that I was greatly impressed by my talks with the working people of the enterprise and by all that I saw. I learned a great deal of interesting things about your past, your current affairs and your future plans.

The nearly century-old history of the plant is rich in revolutionary and labor traditions. The metallurgical workers were the leaders in the 1905 armed uprising against tsarism. In the course of the revolutionary struggle they created their own republic and set up the first soviet of workers' deputies in the Yekaterislov area. Their courage and revolutionary thrust were highly valued by V. I. Lenin.

From the very first days of the Soviet system, the plant became a major supplier of metal for the building of socialism. It was here that cadres for the metallurgical enterprises in many parts of the country were trained.

The plant's workers displayed high spirit and heroism during the Great Patriotic War and the years of postwar reconstruction. The plant and its collective live a rich life. The work you did in the 1970s for the technical updating of your output deserves praise. It enabled you to reduce the size of the employed personnel by 40 percent, while doubling output.

Here production matters are skillfully combined with concern for the person and constant attention paid to the construction of housing, children's preschool establishments and health care projects, rest centers, sporting installations and development of social services, although I should say that you could and should build more housing, including some with your own forces. The plant has set up an auxiliary farm which is a good contribution to improving public catering for the enterprise's workers.

The high level of general education and specialized training of the workers is a major accomplishment of your collective. It is noteworthy that today nine-tenths of the workers have higher, secondary specialized or secondary training. Some 2,000 are production rationalizers.

Unquestionably, all of this is to be credited to the enterprise's collective and its party, trade union and Komsomol organizations. One can feel that the 2,500 party members working in your ranks are real, true organizers of all good achievements and initiatives.

I well understand that, naturally, what I have said about the plant and its accomplishments is no news to you. You are well aware of it. However, I wanted to mention it because the activities of your collective and its accomplishments perfectly reflect the life of thousands of other of our enterprises and of the entire country. This applies not only to accomplishments but also to problems related to the implementation of the new tasks dictated by our time and the needs of the economy and the entire Soviet society.

Our present meeting is important also because it is taking place during a responsible period in the history of the homeland. Today all of us are considering how to implement practically the program for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, which was formulated at the April Central Committee Plenum.

Its essence is clear: we are pursuing further the path of improving the living and working conditions of the Soviet people and the comprehensive advancement of the socialist way of life; we want to maintain the country's defense on the proper level and strengthen the positions of socialism in the international arena.

In order to accomplish this, we must accelerate the pace of development of our economy and make it even more efficient and your work more highly productive. How can this be accomplished? We, in the Central Committee and the government, believe that accelerating scientific and technical progress is the main way.

A conference on this subject was recently held by the Central Committee. I assume that you are familiar with its results and basic ideas and, obviously, it would be unnecessary to repeat them here. Let me say one thing only: this was a broad partywide discussion--frank, exigent and impartial--on basic problems of our development, the solution of which determines the fate of the country and the well-being of society as a whole and of the individual Soviet family.

We prepared most thoroughly for the conference. The opinions and suggestions of workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, and party and economic managers were studied. A great deal was contributed by meetings and talks with labor collectives and the party and economic activists in Moscow and Leningrad, association and enterprise directors and specialists, invited by the CPSU Central Committee. All of this helped us to formulate a profound and comprehensively substantiated assessment of the state of the country's economy, highlighting our bottlenecks and problems.

The conference formulated an expanded program for resolving the crucial problems of the Soviet economy. Essentially, it is a question of a different quality growth and new approaches to the implementation of the principles governing our development. The problems were formulated on a broad radical scale. The requirements which were set in all matters were quite serious.

The following question may be asked: Are we taking too sharp a turn? No, as we have frequently stated at the CPSU Central Committee. A different approach, a calmer one, will not do for us. The time dictates that this is precisely the way we must act.

Something else must be borne in mind: we must advance in several directions at the same time, simultaneously, for otherwise there will be no progress and we shall be unable to ensure our accelerated progress.

This was the general opinion not only of the participants in the conference but of anyone with whom we discussed the pressing problems. That is why a set

of problems which we mandatorily must resolve in the immediate future were formulated at the conference.

Such work has already begun. Steps have been earmarked to improve the structure of capital investments in order to give a green light to the development of the strategically important national economic sectors which determine scientific and technical progress, machine building, electronics, electrical engineering, biotechnology and others, above all. Particular attention is being paid to the application of the achievements of science and technology in production and to resource-conserving technologies. The problem has been formulated and practical efforts are being made so that the technical reconstruction of operating enterprises may be completed within the shortest possible time.

The entire management and planning system must be improved; the responsibility of the USSR Gosplan for end national economic results must be enhanced and bodies in charge of managing groups of related sectors must be created. Such work will be initiated in the sectors within the agroindustrial complex and machine building. At the same time, the role and responsibility of the ministries will change: they must become the headquarters for scientific and technical progress and concentrate on ensuring the satisfaction of the needs of the country and the population for corresponding superior quality goods. In this connection, efforts will be made to reduce and simplify the administrative apparatus and eliminate unnecessary steps.

The autonomy and responsibility of associations and enterprises will be broadened significantly; the systems for setting wholesale prices, establishing direct contacts and improving material incentives for labor collectives will be perfected. We are planning to provide the type of conditions which will make it more advantageous for collectives to produce and install new equipment, manufacture superior quality goods and achieve high labor productivity.

Converting production facilities to a qualitatively new technical base raises new requirements concerning cadre knowledge and skills. In this connection, the major restructuring of higher and secondary specialized education has become necessary. We must develop a system for upgrading the skills and retraining everyone employed in the national economy--workers, engineers and management specialists.

All of this was extensively discussed at the conference. We have already undertaken this work, which is being actively pursued by the Central Committee and the governmental, planning and economic bodies.

The party's open and principle-minded evaluation of the state of affairs in the economy, the clear program for action and exigency toward cadres are meeting with the full understanding of the country, the speaker went on to say. The responses received by the CPSU Central Committee and the other central bodies, received from workers, kolkhoz members, engineering and technical personnel and scientists, speak of their warm support of the party's course of accelerated scientific and technical progress and the aspiration to do everything necessary for its implementation.

The Soviet people have great hopes concerning this course. The working people are becoming more interested in public affairs and their mood is becoming enhanced. Confidence is strengthening that honest and hard-working people, who account for the majority in our country, will find the work more interesting and will live better.

The results of the conferences held by the socialist countries and the communist and worker parties were welcomed with great interest. We note in particular that the solution of the pressing problems of our economy can be achieved through further development and further utilization of the main advantages of the socialist system and, above all, the tremendous possibilities offered by a planned economy and the interest shown by all social strata in further perfecting the socialist way of life and Soviet democracy.

Our peaceful plans, which meet with the approval of the Soviet people, deal a serious blow at the anti-Soviet fabrications concerning the nondemocratic and nondynamic nature of the Soviet economy and its alleged inability to resolve large-scale problems of contemporary scientific and technical progress.

Naturally, the responses vary. However, all of them prove one thing: by openly and constructively describing our new tasks we have taken a major step in the proper direction and earmarked measures which direct the country toward making changes on a historical scale.

However, the formulation of a proper policy and the charting of an accurate course and adoption of good decisions are not enough. The main thing is to organize their implementation and to begin to act. I emphasize, precisely, to act. We cannot allow the drowning of real practical accomplishments in big words on the accuracy of our planned steps. It would be inadmissible to tarry in the expectation of new instructions and prescriptions from above. It is necessary to act today, now, with all of us together, in order to blend within a single stream the efforts of all economic units. All of us must now adopt a new style, tighten up and work with the greatest possible responsibility and energy. There neither is nor could there be any place for conservatism, indifference, disorganization, waste, bureaucratism and red tape.

Recently the Politburo considered the results of the conference, approved them unanimously and passed a corresponding decree. In this manner its ideas, conclusions and practical steps were given the authority of a party document and we have thus entered the next equally important stage in our work--the stage of practical efforts for the implementation of the formulated strategy.

As I already mentioned, such work has already been initiated in the upper echelons and the CPSU Central Committee will assume strict control over its development.

At the same time, the success of this project and the results of all of our initiatives depend on the workers, peasants and intellectuals. In the final account, everything is determined in the shops, construction sites, rolling mills, automated lines, fields, livestock farms, scientific laboratories and

design bureaus. We cannot accelerate our development without relying on the live creativity of the people and the interested attitude of millions and millions of people in changes for the better in all areas of life. "Socialism," V. I. Lenin taught, "cannot be created by ukase from above. Its spirit is alien to official bureaucratism; socialism is live and creative. It is the creation of the people's masses themselves ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 57).

It is important for the toiling masses to undertake the solution of the problems and to consider them as their own. The party turns above all to the working class. This is what Lenin taught the communists, seeing in the working class the firm foundation for socialism, a force which can assume a bold initiative and set the example of how to approach and resolve national, state problems.

The tremendous political experience of the working class, its ideology and the high conscientiousness, willpower, discipline, proletarian intolerance of shortcomings and feeling of social justice organize and rally our entire society and enable us to advance confidently and optimistically. The party highly values the vanguard role of the working class and cares for its trust and support. The party will continue to do everything possible to strengthen its ties with the working class.

The Central Committee is confident that the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia will energetically implement the course of accelerated socioeconomic development of the country. We must as of now include all reserves and possibilities of upgrading efficiency and quality. I emphasize this because today work on drafting the 12th Five-Year Plan is taking place in sectors, republics, associations and enterprises, on the basis of the control figures.

Work on the plan must assume a truly businesslike, a nationwide nature. Everything possible must be done to base the assignments in the main directions on a firm material foundation and to formulate realistic and efficient measures for their implementation. These measures must be precisely realistic and effective. Today this is the most important economic, social and political task.

We expect a great deal of the workers, kolkhoz members and intelligentsia of the Ukrainian SSR and its party organization. The republic's working people are justifiably proud of their industry, agriculture, science and culture. The republic is making a substantial contribution to our country's economic and defense power. It accounts for nearly 20 percent of the national income, more than 25 percent of coal extraction, more than one-third of steel and rolled metal production and a considerable percentage of the agricultural output. Every single success means a substantial additions to the national wealth. However, each breakdown in the work makes itself felt.

The Ukrainian economy is continuing to advance. However, you have even greater possibilities of improving matters. The drafts for the 12th Five-Year Plan for the republic set significantly higher levels. The volume of industrial output will be substantially increased, particularly in machine



building and metal processing and the chemical and petrochemical industries. Great attention has been paid to the development of the power industry. The sectors within the agroindustrial complex will be enhanced.

As you know, the work of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy was seriously criticized at the CPSU Central Committee conference. This criticism is addressed to the republic's ministry as well, for most of the obligations concerning the production and procurement of metal goods affect your republic's enterprises.

In recent five-year periods ferrous metallurgy has not fulfilled its plans. Today this sector is violating the work rhythm of the national economy with increasing frequency. Whereas this has been undesirable so far, it becomes even more inadmissible now, when domestic machine building faces tremendous tasks.

The reasons for this situation rests in the slow updating of productive capital in the sector. Meanwhile, huge funds are spent for capital repairs. We are concerned by the slowing down in mastering new progressive equipment and technological processes and introducing more economical and high-quality types of metal goods.

New projects are being built too slowly. At your plant as well, the construction of the new medium-grade 550 mill has been under way for the past 5 years and within that time no more than one-third of its capitalization has been used.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers recently passed a decree on the technical retooling of ferrous metallurgy. This involves a broad set of measures aimed at the radical updating of sectorial productive capital and its enhancement on a qualitatively new technical level on the basis of the mobilization of intensive factors.

The scale of the forthcoming work is tremendous. In the 12th Five-Year Plan machines for continuous ingot casting will be installed and casting with such progressive methods will be doubled; enterprises which were built during the first five-year plans will be reconstructed and technically retooled; Martin furnaces will be replaced with converters and electrosteel-smelting furnaces. Other major steps will be taken as well.

It is important that the solution of social problems as well has been considered at the same time: upgrading the level of mechanization of labor and improving working conditions. It is obvious that it is on this basis that you will draft the plant's plan for future developments.

In the course of the discussion at the plant a great deal was said about its radical reconstruction. Possible alternatives were formulated and preliminary estimates were given. The years go by, however, without a final choice having been made. The Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and USSR Gosplan should accelerate the solution of this pressing problem. However, your role as well is not secondary and requires more energetic action.

Let me draw your attention to reducing heavy physical and unskilled manual labor. I know that you are actively working on this problem. Nevertheless, the situation should not satisfy you. You must be concerned with reducing the share of such labor to a minimum.

Currently ubiquitous efforts are being made to find and utilize reserves, M. S. Gorbachev went on to say. The main lever here is, naturally, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. Losing no time, everything necessary must be done for each association and enterprise to master the latest achievements of science, technology and progressive experience.

Furthermore, the technical retooling of production is no simple matter and its simultaneous and comprehensive implementation is not so simple. That is why, during the 12th Five-Year Plan, its first 2 years in particular, the growth rates of output must be increased, making use of all opportunities. Such opportunities may be found everywhere, in all sectors and work places.

This means, above all, the better utilization of what we have now, by bringing order, increasing responsibility, and strengthening discipline. It is only thus that labor productivity can be significantly upgraded in many enterprises without any outlays. Thus, on the day of special observation conducted by the USSR Central Statistical Administration, labor productivity at the Odessa Milling Machine Tools Plant rose 19 percent. Consider, comrades, what substantial reserves we have.

Great reserves exist in other areas as well. Actually, today there is no more relevant task than the conservation of fuel, raw materials and materials, which are becoming increasingly costly. The significance of economy grows with the increased scale of output. By no means do we make the best possible use of the fuel, timber, cement and various raw materials. A thrifty attitude must be adopted toward metal. You are allowing substantial metal losses in the course of the production process; the machine builders use more metal than they should because of your failure to provide the variety needed by the consumers. A great deal of metal is lost as a result of corrosion or improper use.

Any kind of waste means stealing from ourselves, from the entire society. It is an obstacle on the path to increasing the well-being of the people. You should know that reducing outlays of fuel, energy, raw materials and materials by a single percentage point would enable us to increase the growth of the national income by nearly 7 billion rubles. Such funds would suffice for building hundreds of thousands of new apartments, polyclinics, kindergartens and schools.

Naturally, our possibilities and reserves are related to upgrading production quality. Low production quality affects every worker, every person. It means unreliable equipment work in industry, loss of time and money for household equipment repairs and dissatisfaction with the appearance of a number of commodities.

Today radical improvements in production quality assume prime significance. Existing reserves remain largely unused. Yet, in frequent cases, their use would require no substantial outlays.

In order to resolve the problem we need, above all, strictly to observe technological discipline and ensure that every working person carries out his duties with a feeling of high responsibility. At the same time, we must also think of strengthening economic measures aimed at improving production quality, M. S. Gorbachev pointed out.

In a word, huge reserves exist everywhere. Their utilization is largely related to planning, material and technical procurements and management as a whole. This is so. However, we must advance on a broad front. Everyone must involve himself in practical accomplishments. A thrifty attitude must be displayed toward the people's good. We must learn how properly to compute, analyze and compare outlays with results. We must manage thriftily.

In appealing to the Soviet people to work strenuously and with dedication, the party's sole purpose is to make the life of our people better. The country has a single master--the toiling person--and everything that is being done is being done for the sake of his interests.

Concern for the person, with his growing material and cultural requirements, has been and remains the main content of our plans. It is from this that we proceed in shaping the assignments of the 12th Five-Year Plan. The people's well-being must be raised to a new level. The entire set of living conditions of the Soviet people must be improved--housing, working conditions, services, goods, pensions and spiritual development.

In his speech, M. S. Gorbachev went on to discuss foreign policy. The Soviet people, he said, well understand the tremendous efforts made by our party and government to safeguard peace and protect our land from nuclear catastrophe. In his time, V. I. Lenin quite clearly formulated the principled position of the socialist state, saying that "...we promise the workers and peasants to do everything possible for peace. And we shall do so" (op. cit., vol 36, p 343).

Many years have passed since that time. Our people lived through many bad years, through wars in which much blood was shed. Our state became stronger and more powerful with every passing year. Today it is a great world power, ready properly to rebuff any aggressor. However, today as well, more firmly than ever before, we pledge to the workers and peasants to do everything possible for peace. And we shall do it.

We live in times of stress. You can see this. The life or death of hundreds of millions of people, the fate of all mankind, depend on whether or not we shall be able to stop the warmongers.

Under the existing circumstances, in resolving the problem of strengthening international peace, we must think, above all, about strengthening the positions of the socialist countries in the world arena and contribute to the development of comprehensive cooperation among them. That is precisely how we are trying to act. It is a question of intensifying economic cooperation and

economic integration among CEMA members. Well-organized specialization and production cooperation and active interaction in the development of science and technology make our community as a whole and each one of its individual participants stronger economically and even more powerful in the field of defense, reducing to naught the policy of economic pressure which is now actively being followed by the West toward the socialist countries.

The extension of the Warsaw Pact--the political and defense foundation of our fraternal alliance--for another 20 years, which was accomplished in April, was a major event. This creates prerequisites for even greater energizing of our joint struggle for peace. We must say that, as a whole, comrades, relations among the members of the socialist community are becoming closer and deeper and the contacts among their political leaders, more fruitful. This is a major accomplishment. We shall try to assist this process in all possible ways.

I already had the opportunity to speak of relations with the People's Republic of China. I believe that time has proved to both sides that neither of them benefits from division, not to mention unfriendliness and suspicion, and that good neighborly cooperation is entirely possible and desirable. On our part, we intend actively to contribute to the fact that the negative area in Soviet-Chinese relations, which has triggered a number of artificial encrustations, is entirely eliminated. I am confident that such will be the case in the final account.

The contemporary picture of the world is characterized by the steadily growing role which countries recently liberated from colonial or semicolonial dependents and which have entered the path of independent development, play in international life. A great deal in global developments will depend on the way the fate of these countries will develop and on the manner in which the more developed countries will build their relations with them.

To the Soviet Union, this problem is entirely clear. We see in the peoples liberated from colonialism friends and equal partners in the struggle for the cause of peace and progress and we express our full solidarity with their desire to assert their sovereignty and to defend their freedom and independence. To the extent of our possibilities, we are helping them to develop their own progressive national economy within the framework of equal cooperation.

In a word, we are doing and will do everything possible to broaden and intensify equal friendly cooperation with the liberated countries. This was the objective pursued in the course of our recent meetings and talks with the heads of countries, such as India, Syria and Nicaragua. We consider that the alliance for social progress and national liberation is a guarantee for the better future of mankind.

The imperialist states are pursuing an essentially different policy. They exploited the labor and plundered the natural resources of the colonies and kept their peoples in a state of poverty for centuries on end. Today as well they are trying to tie them to the capitalist system using all possible means: economic, military, threats, intimidations, charity and bribes. Many of them

already have their necks in a thick noose of indebtedness, which is being increasingly tightened. Efforts are being made to prescribe to the young countries the type of policy they should follow at home. People who are unsuitable or disobedient are being overthrown or killed. This is the usual practice pursued by the so-called "free world" countries, who are pursuing a colonialist policy.

It is precisely the unwillingness of the aggressive forces of capitalism to factually acknowledge for all countries the right to sovereignty and independence and free determination of their development, and the efforts to impose their will and to change and redo the contemporary world to their liking, at all cost, it is precisely this that is today the greatest source of danger to the people and the greatest threat to universal peace.

The main problem today is to put an end to the arms race in which the world is mired and to undertake the reduction of accumulated stockpiles, M. S. Gorbachev emphasized. In principle, we need neither nuclear nor other weapons to develop normal relations with the capitalist world providing, naturally, that it would abandon its aggressive intentions toward the USSR and the other socialist countries.

We are prepared to compete against capitalism exclusively on the grounds of peaceful and constructive activities. That is why we favor the development of a political dialogue and interaction with the capitalist countries and extensive development of mutually profitable trade-economic, scientific and technical and cultural relations. We are prepared to develop such relations on a stable long-term basis. However, these should be honest and truly profitable relations, with no discrimination whatsoever. It is hopeless, for example, to try to use trade as a means of interfering in our internal affairs we have no need for such trade and can do without it.

We are ready to reach an agreement not only on reducing the arms race but on most substantial reductions, including universal and total disarmament. Currently, as you know, we are engaged in talks with the United States in Geneva. In the understanding of the Soviet leadership, the purpose of such talks is to put an end to the arms race on earth and its prevention in space. We undertook such talks for the sake of achieving these objectives. Judging by everything, it is precisely this which neither the U.S. administration nor the military-industrial complex which it serves are willing to accomplish. Obviously, their plans do not call for achieving major agreements. They are continuing to pursue a huge program of accelerated development of ever new types of mass destruction weapons in the hope of gaining superiority over the socialist countries and dictating their will to them.

In Geneva, the Americans not only failed to formulate serious proposals on terminating the arms race but, conversely, are taking steps which make such an termination impossible. I have in mind the so-called "Star Wars" program, the creation of offensive space weapons. Talks of its alleged "defensive" nature, are, naturally, tall tales for the naive. The intention is to try to paralyze the strategic weapons of the Soviet Union and to secure for themselves the possibility of dealing with impunity a nuclear strike at our country.

Such is the essence of the problem, which we cannot ignore. If it is faced with a real threat coming from outer space, the Soviet Union will find means for efficient counteraction. I am stating this quite clearly and let no one have any doubts. For the time being, one thing is clear: the American program for the militarization of space plays the role of a thick wall which blocks the reaching of corresponding agreements in Geneva.

With its militaristic policy the U.S. administration is assuming a heavy responsibility to mankind. Let me add that should it resolve to assume a more reasonable position, we could discuss a mutually acceptable agreement on far-reaching and truly radical reduction by both sides of nuclear weapon stocks. The path would open to the total elimination of such weapons and to lifting the threat of nuclear war, which is the dream of all peoples on earth.

However, if our partners in the Geneva talks continue to pursue their line of killing time at the meetings of the delegations, avoiding a solution of problems for the sake of which they met and using this time to accelerate the implementation of their military programs--in space, on earth and at sea--naturally, we shall be forced to reassess the entire situation. We simply cannot allow once again that talks be used to distract attention and conceal military preparations, the purpose of which is to ensure U.S. strategic superiority and to pursue a line leading to world domination. I am confident that in our efforts to rebuff such plans we shall be supported by the truly peace-loving forces the world over and that we are supported by the Soviet people.

The party's Central Committee notes with great satisfaction that our peace-loving foreign policy is meeting with the full understanding and approval of the Soviet people. What is most important, however, is that the Soviet people not only approve but support it with their accomplishments and their toil. The more successful this toil is, the richer and stronger our homeland becomes, the more substantial becomes its contribution to the cause of universal peace and the progress of mankind.

The party must actively prepare for and hold its 27th Congress, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary said. This is a time of intensive work and responsible decisions. It will be instructive to recall the way Ilich considered the work of the party and the country in such a responsible period. On the eve of the 9th RKP(b) Congress he voiced his considerations on this matter and concluded them as follows: "Take into consideration practical experience," Lenin wrote, "in order to reject what is harmful and to bring together everything that is valuable.... That is how we understand the task of the moment and of the party congress" (op. cit., vol 40, p 144).

It is precisely thus that we must advance toward the congress in each labor collective--at plants, factories, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, scientific institutes and design bureaus, throughout the country. We must advance precisely the way Lenin taught, without unnecessary words, energetically, firmly and consistently.

In conclusion, M. S. Gorbachev thanked the plant workers for the interest they showed in this comradely meeting, for the workers' support of the line of the

Central Committee and the activities of the Central Committee Politburo and Soviet government. He wished those present in the hall and all working people at the enterprise and their families success in their work and studies, good health and all the best in life.

(Comrade M. S. Gorbachev's address was heard with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by sustained applause).

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CSO: 1802/16

## YOUNG GENERATION OF BUILDERS OF COMMUNISM

AU020601 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85)  
pp 14-22

[Editorial--capitalized passages published in italics]

[Text] Those who are young today are faced with ruling the destiny of the planet on the threshold of the third millenium of our era. Youth is the future of mankind, its hope and support, its pride and its pain. By a decision of the UN organization, 1985 has been proclaimed International Youth Year. Its motto of "Participation, Development, Peace" presupposes the activation of the efforts of young men and women in all social and state affairs, the augmenting of the young generation's contribution to the solution of the socioeconomic tasks facing society and the increasing of the role of youth, its associations and its organizations in the struggle for peace and for the development of friendship and cooperation between peoples.

The main aim of Youth Year is to attract the attention of governments of all countries, of the broad international public and of the world community as a whole to the problems faced by the young generation in our time. And there is a considerable number of these problems. In capitalist and many developing countries youth is one of the least protected sociodemographic groups. It experiences for itself all the hardships and deprivations to which working people are condemned by a society of exploitation and social contrast: economic and racial discrimination, lack of political rights, insecurity about the future, police arbitrariness, the dictates of monopolies...

Only socialism--a social system based on principles of social justice and genuine humanism--provides wide scope for the comprehensive, harmonious development of the rising generation, guarantees youth rights and freedom and creates conditions promoting the realization of youth's creative potential and gifts. The optimism of socialist activity is a reliable factor in the steady growth of young men's and women's constructive activity and engenders in them an aspiration toward lofty social goals.

Will mankind be able to find a way to solve the topical problems which cause youth concern? Will International Youth Year be a turning point in the destiny of millions of representatives of the planet's young generation? It is hard to say in advance. The approach to problems of youth is far from



uniform in states with different sociopolitical systems. The essence of social reality is reflected as if in focus in the attitude to these problems.

Educated by the communist party and warmed by the constant attention and care of the motherland, the young men and women of the land of the soviets live the full, bright and spiritually rich lives of builders of a new world. Together with the entire Soviet people they are actively preparing for the 27th CPSU Congress and are making a worthy contribution to the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

Qualities which have crystallized over many decades have become organically fused in the character of the Komsomol member and young person of the 1980s: these qualities are communist ideological awareness, devotion to the Leninist party, firm conviction of the rightness of its policy, a warm desire to selflessly serve the cause of further perfecting the developed socialist society which has been built in our country and of defending and augmenting its historical achievements, ardent Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, collectivist morality in and a Stakhanovite approach to work, an aspiration toward lofty social ideals and a broad cultural horizon.

The moral-political makeup of the generations of Soviet youth born in the postwar years was formed under the influence of our revolutionary epoch, thanks to the purposeful and consistent educational work of the communist party and the Soviet state. The CPSU relies entirely on the immortal Leninist teaching on youth and its revolutionary organization. V. I. Lenin's conclusion that the socialist and class awareness of youth do not arise spontaneously but are formed under the leadership of the Marxist party is of unfading significance. Youth cannot by itself become a reserve of the workers movement or, even less so, of its political vanguard. It is necessary to educate, unite and organize the rising generation and to actively prepare it for the revolutionary struggle and for the construction of the new society.

The ideological adversaries of socialism and the falsifiers of history make enormous efforts in an attempt to prove the supposed invalidity of the principal tenets of Marxist-Leninist teaching which concern youth and its revolutionary organization. What do they not set in motion in their vain attempts to create a breach between the party and the Komsomol and to introduce pseudoscientific theories about youth as a special class in contemporary society, concepts of the "generation conflict," and so on, in our country. However, all these attempts are fruitless and doomed to failure.

In gaining an understanding of the path traveled by our country and of the lessons which history teaches us, the young generations of Soviet people become increasingly convinced that only thanks to party leadership and to the solicitous and exacting attitude of their elder communist comrades can the revolutionary youth organization acquire strength and authority and become the real mouthpiece for the fundamental interests and hopes of youth and an active participant in the construction of communism.

The contemporary stage in the life of Soviet society is characterized by the constantly increasing attention of party and state toward the education of the rising generation and by the further intensification of party leadership of

the youth movement. This is one of the natural laws of the process of perfecting the entire system of social relations in the country. It is an indispensable condition for and a most important guarantee of the revolutionary continuity of the generations in the socialist society and in the final analysis it is a question of reliably ensuring the future of our motherland.

The Basic Directions of the General and Vocational School Reform, the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improvement of Party Leadership of the Komsomol and Increasing Its Role in the Communist Education of Youth," and other party documents define a wide range of tasks, the solving of which will promote successful progress along the path of achieving such a program goal of the party as the education of a comprehensively and harmoniously developed individual.

Party committees are called upon not to allow a slackening of the attention paid to the implementation of these important decisions. At the same time, they have not everywhere, and especially not in the lower links of the party and Komsomol, been permeated with responsibility for rigorous fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee's demands on work with the young. Proper control over fulfillment of the outlined measures has not been established everywhere, either.

The party regards youth as an active constructive force of the Soviet people in their struggle to build the new society and as the future bearer of all social functions in it, constantly bearing in mind Lenin's instruction that in a certain sense "it is precisely youth that is faced with the real task of creating a communist society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 298).

Guided by Leninist principles, the CPSU strives to use the knowledge, energy and enthusiasm of young men and women to the full, effectively and at the same time carefully. Trust in youth, the active involvement of it in implementing practical tasks of the perfecting of developed socialism and in administering social and state affairs and the instilling in it of a civic attitude, independence, a high degree of self-discipline and responsibility for matters and actions, form the basis of the party approach to solving problems of the communist education of young people.

The new person is being formed by the entire tenor of life of Soviet society. But this does not mean that our activity automatically imparts communist views and convictions to him. This is why educational work with youth must be constant, effective and based on propaganda of revolutionary theory and on party history and policy and why it must promote in every possible way the formation in youth of a Marxist-Leninist outlook, of historical optimism, and of irreconcilability toward the class adversary, toward blandness, toward philistinism and toward a way of life that is alien to us.

In the year that has passed since the appearance of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Komsomol, the country's party organizations have done a considerable amount to intensify the practical assistance of it. Party committees have begun to look more concretely into the social and ideological

processes occurring among the young, to analyze them more thoroughly and on this basis to assist the Komsomol organizations in selecting the basic areas and most effective forms of work. Party leadership of the Komsomol must be of a planned and systematic nature and must not be limited to isolated measures. It is necessary to skillfully combine and coordinate the efforts of all social institutions of education and to make fuller use of scientists' recommendations and data from sociological research. In accordance with the directives of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, questions of intensifying party leadership of the Komsomol, among other questions, will be the subject of serious discussion in the course of the pregress congress accountability and election campaign.

The education of Soviet youth is a most important party, state and a truly nationwide cause. The measures of International Youth Year should undoubtedly be regarded as a significant milestone in the systematic implementation of the long-term policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state aimed at increasing the labor and sociopolitical activeness of youth.

Lenin's historic precept for youth TO STUDY COMMUNISM, which was heard at the Third Komsomol Congress, is acquiring increasing topicality in contemporary conditions. It is the immediate duty and sacred obligation of the school party and Komsomol organizations to teach communism to young men and women following the example of the life and activity of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, on the basis of revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the party and people.

The image of the leader of the revolution, an image dear to every Soviet person, lives on in our deeds and plans and is an inspiration to feats of labor. We speak of Lenin as of an outstanding thinker and revolutionary, a person of crystal purity, and a great worker. The main thing for us is to adopt the traits and qualities of Lenin--the man and the political figure: unshakable ideological conviction, a principled attitude, sociability, modesty and simplicity and his attitude to the task. It is necessary to base ourselves as much as possible in this work on such invaluable property of our society as the experience of veterans of the party, war and work. Their devotion to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, which have been forged by the decades, their love of life and their ardent patriotism are capable of kindling a bright fire of revolutionary romanticism in young hearts and of instilling a readiness for feats.

The formation of the young generation is now occurring in an atmosphere of an acutely intensified ideological struggle in the world arena. Youth is the main target of the "psychological war" unleashed by imperialism. The arsenal of our ideological adversaries includes malicious slander about socialist reality and falsification of the history of the Soviet state, propaganda of the bourgeois way of life and religious opiates, the preaching of apolitical and of nationalist attitudes. In conversation with Klara Tstkin, Lenin said: "The future of our youth deeply concerns me. Our youth is part of the revolution. And if harmful phenomena of bourgeois society begin spreading to the world of the revolution, too..., then it is best to act against this in good time" ("Reminiscences about Vladimir Ilich Lenin." In five volumes. Vol 5, Moscow 1979, p 47).

These words of Lenin's are very topical today. It is the duty and obligation of party and Komsomol organizations to struggle actively and aggressively against the smallest manifestations of ideology and morality which are alien to our society, to resolutely overcome the political naivete of a certain section of young people, and to educate such a youth as will not shake or bend under the burden of historical responsibility for the destiny of the country and for the destiny of socialism and peace and will be able not only to successfully master the experience of the older generations, but also to enrich it with its own accomplishments.

In its level of education, knowledge and general culture, the youth of today is prepared as never before for thorough and creative assimilation of Marxism-Leninism. It is precisely of this that more account should be taken in the process of perfecting the Marxist-Leninist education of youth. In order that, in the words of S. M. Kirov, each young person is "thoroughly grounded in Leninism," it is necessary to more boldly introduce the problem methods of teaching and discussion forms of lessons in the work of Komsomol political schools and seminars and also to strengthen the connection of youth's political studies with practice and life in every possible way.

It is important to be constantly guided by Lenin's instruction that it is impossible to form socialist awareness only through propaganda, lectures and meetings. Personal political experience is also necessary. "...There can be no political education OUTSIDE political struggle and political actions..." he stressed ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." vol 4, p 312). The present generations of Soviet young men and women know the meaning of hunger, poverty, exploitation, lack of rights and unemployment only through books, films and veterans' reminiscences. The absence of practical personal experience in this area carries with it the danger that political infantilism, spinelessness, gullibility and an inability to uphold our ideals in a well-argued manner and from clear class positions may show themselves in the awareness and behavior of individual young people.

The Komsomol's and youth's own political experience is an inseparable part of the experience of the CPSU and the entire Soviet people in realizing the socialist political idea. Young men and women acquire it while actively participating in the life of their collectives and in the work of the soviets of people's deputies, of the trade union and other social organizations and of the organs of people's control and the "Komsomol Searchlight" [prozhektor] and while carrying out various Komsomol assignments. The development of political experience is the most important task in the process of instilling political standards in the young representatives of socialist society.

Knowledge of the laws of social development and mastery of the science of revolutionary action are unthinkable without the struggle to solve the practical tasks of communist construction and without active participation in the general creative work of the people. Only when knowledge is based on acquired experience does it become conviction and form the basis and foundation of a young person's position in life. This is why Komsomol members and youth must always remember Lenin's words: "...It is necessary that everyone sees that anyone who is a member of the Youth Union is competent and at the same time also able to work" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 41, p 317).

This applies to all ages and professional groups of youth. Whether an adolescent, a young worker, a kolkhoz member, an engineer, a salesperson, a doctor or a scientist is involved, the main point is that each of them clearly grasps a simple truth: We live as we work.

The Komsomol members and the young men and women of the country are making a worthy contribution to the acceleration of the intensification of the Soviet economy. To the implementation of the Energy and Food programs, and to the development of the natural resources of Siberia, the Far East and the Far North. Our people are justly proud of the young heroes of the Baykal-Amur Railway who were able to construct a unique main transportation line in a short period and in impassable taiga conditions. Fostering the heroism of mass and everyday work in youth, the party and Komsomol are striving to make youth apply its knowledge and skills primarily in those branches which determine scientific-technical progress and to make it go where the forward limits of the party's difficult and multilateral work in qualitatively transforming all aspects of the country's social life are situated.

In infecting Soviet youth with the energy of social optimism, the party attaches enormous significance to the involvement of young men and women in accelerating scientific-technical progress and expects much from their inquisitive minds and interest in everything new and advanced. The Komsomol and the general and vocational schools are faced with the task of thoroughly preparing youth for work with contemporary equipment, of equipping it with knowledge of data processing and computer technology and of educating it to be capable not only of successfully mastering the latest achievements of science and technology, but also of advancing them.

The relative proportion of Komsomol members in the leading branches of the Soviet economy is also growing significantly. Dozens of the largest projects of the national economy have been declared All-Union Komsomol Shock Construction Projects. Since the start of the five-year plan period over 400,000 young volunteers have been sent here on Komsomol passes. The transformation of the Russian Nonchernozem zone has become a second virgin land for youth in our time. In many branches of production a good name has been won by Komsomol youth brigade working according to a unified system and also by the comprehensive creative youth collectives which represent an alliance between advanced scientific and engineering through and the innovative work of production workers. The establishment of the All-Union Komsomol Accountability System of Economizing and Saving in the 11th Five-Year Plan also deserves approval and support.

The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations are called upon to concern themselves more persistently with increasing the vocational skills of youth, with the conditions of its work and everyday life and to strengthen production discipline and educate young workers who are thrifty and who think in a contemporary economic way.

The dynamic growth in the relative proportion of youth in social production presupposes the further strengthening of its tempering through labor and the transformation of the sphere of work into the sphere of the formation of the individual's fundamental civil qualities. There are at times a considerable

number of difficulties on the way to solving these tasks. Because of the uncoordinated nature of the actions of various organizations involved in educating the young work shift the educational potential possessed by labor collectives is not utilized to the full. Educational work with youth in production is frequently substituted by petty tutelage and is far from always of the nature of a purposeful, systematic process. This is largely the consequence of incomplete work by the Komsomol. It should have a weighty word at workers planning meetings and production conferences trade union meetings and this also means taking care that the enterprise is a leading one, that each young worker lives for the interests of his collective and that he is formed as a conscientious worker.

The work of any member of society must always be visible to the collective, as it is then possible for him to compare his results with his comrades', to exchange experience with them and to measure his work skills against theirs. All this is provided by participation in socialist competition. This is why it is necessary to make more active use of the educational force of work competition, to strengthen its militant spirit and competitiveness and to draw the broadest strata of youth into the orbit of the competition.

Our inquisitive, searching and talented youth sets about any task in a fervent and interested manner. However, when the enthusiasm of the young meets with bureaucracy, red tape and callousness, it often fades and dies away. We still have some economic officials who brush away undertakings by the young and have no desire to look into their essential nature. Any economic leader, from minister to foreman, must fully realize his responsibility for the educational consequences of his activity. What is involved is both the organization of work in every production unit and also the shock construction projects and the infrastructure of growing new towns. It is also necessary to have a more careful attitude toward the enthusiasm of the young and not use them to fill in the gaps caused by incompetent economic management, as sometimes happens.

Many shortcomings in the training of young men and women for conscientious work are caused by the fact that a start in life is often identified only with a certificate of secondary education. The reform of general and vocational schools which has begun is expected to eliminate shortcomings in the training of pupils for life and work and to raise this work to a qualitatively new level. However, the role of the family, the production collectives and the local public must not be underestimated, either. All of these should be links in one chain in the formation of a real worker and citizen.

Lenin taught that the main thing in educating youth is the cultivation of communist morality. The moral soundness of the individual is formed from the simple fact of how the young person works--efficiently or listlessly--and of whether he has a respectful and attentive attitude toward his elders and is able to give a helping hand to the unfortunate. Commonly known truths, one would think, but as yet they are far from being followed by everyone. What is genuinely communist in morality must be asserted more insistently.

Youth reacts sharply to any shortcomings in everyday life and is uncompromising in its search for truth and sometimes excessively, as it seems to more mature people, categorical and straightforward in its judgments and

evaluations. This fine quality of youth should not die away with the years. It is important to teach youth to evaluate facts and phenomena of reality from a position of a developed sense of civic duty and patriotism, to inculcate in it the ability not only to notice negative points but also to actively struggle to eliminate them and to assert everywhere--in production and in everyday life--the principles of communist morality and the ideals of social justice.

Existing objective difficulties and, more often, complete work and blunders in educational and propagandist work sometimes create fertile soil from which grows a distorted view of phenomena of internal and international life, thoughtless keenness on Western models of "mass culture" and fashion, and an inability to rebuff false rumors and slander which defame socialism. Sometimes such oddities turn into almost a lifestyle with some young people and take the form of certain interests and moral directions which are alien to socialist values. Also observed is the aspiration to acquire a comfortable position in life, often at the expense of others, including parents, and also to take more from society and give it less.

Everyone, and to a decisive extent youth itself, is responsible for the moral health of youth. That is why it is possible to put an end to such phenomena that are intolerable in our society only by creating around them an atmosphere of irreconcilable censure by youth itself, by forming a healthy political and moral climate in every school class, student group, Komsomol-youth collective, dormitory and Komsomol cell, and by affirming an atmosphere of mutual exactingness and responsibility.

The CPSU Central Committee has demanded of all party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations and of economic leaders that they urgently develop and implement a complex of comprehensively substantiated organizational, administrative-legal and educational measures aimed at a decisive intensification of and an increase in effectiveness of the struggle against such an ugly phenomenon as drunkenness. The Komsomol and the organs of enlightenment and of vocational-technical and higher and secondary specialized education have been called upon to regard their anti-alcohol education of youth as one of its combat tasks, to form an atmosphere of intolerance toward drunkenness and toward any violation of work discipline and order, to improve the organization of leisure in every possible way, and to create conditions for the sensible use of spare time by youth. The implementation of the measures to overcome drunkenness and alcoholism is the task of each and every one. Sobriety should be the norm of our lives.

Real socialism gives the young person the opportunity to enjoy all the blessings of culture, civilization and democracy. But the question legitimately arises of how fully they are made use of. Many young men and women still perceive spiritual values in a mechanical way, without gaining a profound and creative understanding of them. Finally, far from all possess the ability to overcome the difficulties which arise in the assimilation of spiritual wealth.

Education is an uninterrupted process but it is unfortunately often broken off beyond the threshold of the school and beyond the gates at the entrance to the

plant. It is incumbent on the Komsomol, the trade unions and the organizations of culture and physical education to intensify educational work in the places where the young live, relax and spend their spare time. All forms of leisure of the young should promote their ideological enrichment, their physical development, the development in them of high cultural requirements and aesthetic tastes and their provision with access to the best achievements of native and world culture.

Life insistently demands that our Soviet, socialist content should be more actively introduced even into such diversions of young people as, say fashion or light music. The ideological saturation and repertoire of youth light entertainment should be engaged in more pertinently and purposefully and creative associations and interest clubs should be still further developed. In this connection it is not out of place to recall the wise advice of N. K. Krupskaya, who urged that "a sort of resonator which amplifies everything communist be created out of art..."

In the conditions of the situation in the world which has been exacerbated through the fault of American imperialism and its allies, the heroic-patriotic education of youth acquires a special importance. The majority of young men and women correctly understand what threat the militarist policy of international reaction bears to mankind. However, one must not close one's eyes to the fact that there are also those among them whose attitude to the military danger is like some abstract concept; from time to time echoes of pacifist attitudes also make themselves felt. A certain section of youth turns out to be poorly prepared for army service.

Together with the schools, the public, the armed forces and veterans, the Komsomol has accumulated considerable experience of military-patriotic education. Wide possibilities for further perfection of this opened up in connection with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War. It should be made the rule that in every school, nonschool institution and Pioneer camp, military-technical corners and classes are created by the Komsomol forces and that universities, clubs and lecture bureaus of the future soldiers operate everywhere. The All-Union march around places of revolutionary, combat and work glory as well as the participation of children and adolescents in the popular-military-sporting games "Zarnitsa" and "Orlenok" should be activated, and the Komsomol organization's links with the decorated army Komsomol should be filled with more concrete content. Efforts should continue to be persistently made to make the traditions of struggle and the models of struggle serve, as Lenin taught, "as a beacon in the task of educating new generations of fighters" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 17, p 50).

Today there is no more important or urgent task than that of averting the threat of a nuclear conflagration on the planet. The youth of our country is making an effective contribution to the implementation of the Peace Program for the 1980s developed by the 26th Party Congress and of the foreign policy course of the CPSU and the Soviet state. From year to year Soviet youth's international contacts with young patriots of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are waging a courageous struggle against imperialism are growing and strengthening, as is its class solidarity with young men and women



in developed capitalist countries who are actively working against the omnipotence of monopoly and for the interests of workers and all working young people.

The Komsomol and Soviet youth organizations maintain relations with more than 1,350 national and international youth and student organizations of various political and ideological orientations in 140 countries of the world. The Leninist Komsomol's contacts with fraternal youth unions in the socialist countries, contacts which are based on the unshakable principles of Marxist-Leninism and of proletarian, socialist internationalism, are constantly becoming deeper. A remarkable tradition has been formed by the joint work of emissaries from our countries on the largest CEMA projects, by the international socialist competition of youth brigades, by festivals and festive days of friendship, by the exchange of delegations and tourist groups, by the bilateral ties of the youth organizations of oblasts and sister-cities, by seminars where work experience is exchanged, by consultations on problems of the international youth movement and by joint actions against the danger of a world nuclear catastrophe.

Peace is the ideal of socialism. Struggling for it means working stubbornly and persistently to strengthen the economic and defense might of all socialist states, untiringly unmasking the slander of our ideological enemies who are striving to scare peoples with the myth of a "Soviet threat," and making all young people on the planet aware of the true aims of the aggressive policy of imperialism.

The Leninist Komsomol must continue to strive to achieve a consolidation of the international youth movement and to make use of various forms of cooperation. The 12th World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow is expected to play an important role in the development of the anti-imperialist solidarity of young men and women of all countries. Together with their foreign contemporaries, Soviet young people are actively preparing for this forum. The festival movement has stood the test of time. Its importance for strengthening the cause of peace and mutual understanding between peoples is invaluable.

Youth is not at all the passive object of education, but is politically active and strives for creativity. It is necessary to encourage its initiative and spontaneous activity, constantly bearing in mind Lenin's words about the fact that "without total independence the young CANNOT make themselves into good socialists, nor can they prepare to move socialism FORWARD" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 30, p 226).

It is the duty of communists to help the Komsomol organizations to concentrate their efforts on educational tasks of paramount importance. At the same time, excessive patronage should be avoided and the innovative aspirations of Komsomol members should be developed. We have a considerable number of authoritative and truly enthusiastic and competent youth leaders. But in the Komsomol organization more than anywhere else it is necessary to get rid of bureaucrats, careerists, windbags, those keen on boasting and those leaders who have become cut off from the young, their life and their problems. The party places particular hope in the young communists working in the Komsomol,

who are obliged to create an atmosphere of high exactingness and of care for everyone within the Komsomol organizations and to affirm the unity of word and deed.

The heroic work of the Soviet people and the care of the communist party in the country have created broad opportunities for the young generation to grow up as ideologically hardened and morally mature. The example of the communists and thoughtful, serious work in the communist education of youth are expected to form even more purposefully in young men and women an active position in life and also the qualities which make a person an unbending fighter, a worker, an ardent patriot and a true master of his socialist motherland.

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CSO: 1802/16-F

## TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INVESTMENT COMPLEX

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85) pp 23-33

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences K. Valtukh]

[Text] The concept of the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country, based on scientific and technical progress, was formulated at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the June Central Committee conference. The task is to achieve a decisive upturn in social production intensification and in upgrading its efficiency. It is a question of radically improving expanded socialist reproduction. The possibility and need for such a change are the result of the major accomplishments in the development of our economy during the preceding historical stage--the stage of primarily extensive growth. During the prewar peaceful construction and, subsequently, in the first postwar five-year plans, the primary dissemination of machine technology was the base for the development of our production; correspondingly, the mass output of industrial means of production was developed. By the mid-1960s, the country already had a comprehensively developed national economic complex which was further advanced in the subsequent five-year plans. A tremendous economic power was created, based on a multisectorial industry, large-scale socialist agriculture, progressive science and skilled cadres of workers, specialists and economic managers.

These results were achieved within an extremely short historical time. Suffice it to say that at the beginning of peaceful socialist building, the output of basic heavy industry commodities in our country was incomparably below the American level. Less than 50 years (until the mid-1960s) were needed to come close to the United States in terms of basic quantitative indicators, even though this included the period of World War II, which caused tremendous dislocations in our economy and created conditions for the accelerated growth of the U.S. economy. The advantages of the socialist economic system over the capitalist were manifested most emphatically: planning on the scale of the national economy and the active creative efforts of the toiling masses, aimed at achieving a sharp labor upturn in the interests of society as a whole.

However, it was precisely the creation of a highly developed national economic complex, with the mass production of commodities in all basic sectors, that radically changed the situation in the economy. The economic characteristics

of technical progress are changing. Whereas inherent in the primary industrialization process is the fast growth of live labor productivity, with increased norms of material resource outlays per unit of output, today increased output per unit of already widespread mass types of materials and, partially, equipment, becomes the most important source of economic growth, along with further increases in labor productivity. This also means a primarily intensive type of expanded reproduction. Starting with the mid-1960s, there has been an increase in output per ton of used metal, cubic meter of timber, etc.; until the mid-1970s the indicators of utilization of installed production capacities in industry and transportation increased.

Intensification means the implementation of two interrelated processes: first, the fullest possible utilization of the available production apparatus; second, replacing it with sets of new, essentially more efficient technological systems which embody the achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. The intensification process, which was initiated on a broad scale in the mid-1960s, actually and essentially followed the first of these tasks. Substantial results were achieved along this way. In the course of the 8th and 9th five-year plans the growth of the overwhelming majority of commodities produced substantially outstripped the installation of new capacities. This applied, in particular, to the production of cast iron, steel, rolled ferrous metals, steel pipes, soda ash, synthetic resins and plastics, a variety of machine equipment, paper, cement, prefabricated reinforced concrete structures, etc.

Obviously, at the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan a situation had already developed in the course of which the second of the two basic intensification trends began to prevail. Starting with the mid-1970s, output increased in the overwhelming majority of sectors only as new capacities were installed and even more slowly than that, for an increasing share of the new commodities went to replace those which had been written off. Today the main feature which enables us to achieve a decisive upturn in economic intensification and in increasing the country's rate of economic and social development is the substantial acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

Unquestionably, the possibilities which have developed today in the production apparatus are by no means fully used; substantial possibilities remain of increasing the volume of output, improving its quality and reducing production costs. In implementing the party's decisions on strengthening labor, technological and planning discipline, improving the state management of production and perfecting the moral and material incentives for highly effective toil, in 1983 and 1984 the Soviet people achieved positive changes in the work of virtually all economic sectors. Such positive changes can and must not only be consolidated but also increased. At the same time, while undertaking today systematic efforts to improve current enterprise management and enterprise relations, and introducing incentive-promoting wage systems and new moral incentives, we must also be oriented toward reconstructing the same enterprises, so that said measures will become the more effective the sooner such reconstruction is completed. The better we use the existing production apparatus the sooner it will become necessary to replace it with a new and potentially even more effective one. In resolving current tactical problems of economic development, we must not forget strategic long-term tasks.

The implementation of the strategic tasks of our socioeconomic development will require replacing the currently existing technological system with a new system, which will implement more efficiently the achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution, on the scale of the entire national economy. The timely and efficient implementation of revolutionary changes in the technological system determines the implementation of the programmatic task of socialism--achieving the highest world standard in labor productivity. The steady and fast growth of the people's well-being, maintaining the potential needed to restrain aggressive imperialist aspirations and ensuring the active and progressive influence of socialism on the entire course of global events require the accelerated making of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution in its most efficient and latest areas. "...It is important to realize," Comrade M. S. Gorbachev has pointed out, "that we cannot do without the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and revolutionary changes in economic intensification."

### Objective Characteristics of Technical Progress

In order to control technical progress we must consciously rely on its specific laws. We could indicate at least three essential and objective features of technical progress.

In the first place, this applies to the dynamic nature of technical progress: outlays for its implementation and results, spread in time, usually over a period of many years, in the course of which outlays precede results. We can single out several periods in the course of implementation of technological innovations. The first is that of general preparations within the national economy for the implementation of a certain set of technological changes based on common ideas and, therefore, on essentially related new types of means of production. In the development of the production of such means of production (such as plastics, electronic components, etc.), the fact in itself does not represent any kind of change in technology used by potential consumers of such means of production; furthermore, many such changes are as yet to be developed. In this case we face a process of substantial social outlays for the creation of prerequisites for technical progress, for the time being only for the sake of future results.

The second period is already one of making specific technological changes by consumers, which, once again, initially requires additional outlays. It is only at the end of this period that such outlays begin to yield real results. Usually, however, at first such results turn out to be lower even compared with current outlays, not to mention the entire amount of previously accumulated outlays.

The third period arises when results begin to outstrip current outlays in the application of the technological innovation. In the final account, outlays for an innovation come to an end (although, naturally, there is the cost of operating and maintaining the installed technology), while results continue to increase for a while: the potential possibilities of the new technology are gradually mastered, i.e., current labor and material outlays for output are

reduced to a minimum and the technologically possible quality maximum is attained.

Finally, the fourth period arises when some of the technology is kept operating over and above its normal life span: its potential efficiency begins to decline as a result of the loss of the initial technical quality of the equipment.

In the final account, social outlays for technological development are reduced to labor outlays. Social labor economy is the main result of the overwhelming majority of technological innovations. Therefore, outlays and results are commensurable. Technical innovation means technical progress if the accumulated outlays are less than the accumulated results (strictly speaking, taking into consideration differences in assessing outlays and results depending on the time of their advent and taking into consideration the socially defined minimal threshold of necessary efficiency).

The direct requirement of reaching a level of controlling the influencing of technical progress--the level of economic decision-making--stems from its dynamic nature. If we think in terms of periods of time not exceeding the range within which the first and second periods develop, the rejection of preparations for the implementation of corresponding technological changes becomes inevitable: during such periods major outlays are clearly visible, whereas results are either totally invisible or else are imagined as an insignificant value which does not justify outlays. Technical progress demands a broad outlook in economic thinking and planning decisions. The more profound the considered technological changes, the more accurate this becomes: the deeper the changes, the more time they demand in the first and second periods. In fact, however, it is precisely the most profound changes which turn out to be the most effective.

The dynamism of technical progress is most closely interwoven with its national economic nature: outlays for the development of sources for technical progress are incurred in some sectors while results appear in others, where such sources are used. Technical progress proves incompatible with narrow departmental or parochial interests. It demands of all members of socialist society to be guided above all by the interests of society as a whole, which determines the development of resources for the satisfaction of the needs of all members of society.

Finally, technical progress is unattainable without risk. This is determined by its nature as a probability. Since outlays and, particularly, results are spread out and distant in terms of time, they can be anticipated only within some usually quite broad limits.

The most advanced capitalist countries can be outstripped in terms of the level of public labor productivity only by achieving global leadership in the main trends of technical progress. Our possibilities in this respect were confirmed by the experience of the Great Patriotic War and the development of essentially new and highly effective technologies in the extracting and power industries, ferrous metallurgy, machine building and other sectors, achieved in recent 5-year periods. To lead in the field of technical progress means

to develop highly effective technologies in laboratories and experimental facilities and to disseminate and spread them in the economy earlier and faster than others. Risk is unavoidable in this case. Those who lead also assume its burden. However, avoiding risks means expecting, in fact, that others will assume them, which is the equivalent of falling behind in technical progress.

An adequate risk fund must be created (clearly, no less than 1 percent of the national income). Most of this fund must be controlled on a centralized basis and used in testing the most important technological changes of broad national economic importance. Obviously, in this case the main role must be assumed by the type of state authority free from narrow departmental interests and capable of recruiting the most prestigious experts who would make the most promising decisions, such as the State Committee for Science and Technology. Another part of the risk fund could be controlled on a decentralized basis. This would apply essentially to areas related to the dissemination of already defined technological solutions.

By virtue of its basic features, socialist ownership is entirely consistent with the nature of technical progress. It creates the opportunities for long-range economic planning for the entire developing system, kept under social control, and for the sake of ensuring a general upsurge; it creates an economic base for joint and collective efforts made by all members of society, aimed at long-range successes on the scale of the entire economy.

#### Economic Growth and Capital Investments

The reproduction of labor tools--their renovation, qualitative transformation and expanded scale of utilization--is the base for maintaining and developing the technological system. These are processes of industrial capital investments. They are implemented by a particularly developed national economic complex--investments (asset-forming). This includes ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, machine building (to the extent to which these sectors serve the investment process), the production of a variety of construction materials, construction-installation and design organizations and applied scientific research organizations which develop new labor tool systems. The end output of the capital-forming complex consists of three parts: newly installed basic capital for material production; basic capital in nonmaterial production; and housing. The first two form the base of production forces in material and nonmaterial production.

A complex interdependence exists between economic development and capital investments: as the decisive factor in the long-range growth of production and consumption, on the short-term level capital investments appear as withdrawing part of available resources from the consumption area. That is why any kind of one-sided approach would be unacceptable, such as the following: the greater the capital investments, the better, whatever the case. Based on the knowledge of objective correlations, the socialist society may make the most efficient and optimal capital investments. The base for long-term high rates of growth of output and consumption is, unquestionably, the intensive and highly efficient social investment activity aimed at achieving technological changes.

Economic history proves that the growth rates of the national income are high when the growth rates of industrial capital investments, made in a technologically progressive manner, are high and that such rates decline with a lowering of the growth rates of investments and of their technological standards. Capital investments exert their influence on the economy not immediately but after a while, with a so-called lag estimated as lasting several years.

The great economic significance of real technical progress is confirmed by a large number of specific facts, some of which recent. A number of real examples can be pointed out in which technological changes ensure--all other conditions being equal--a growth of labor productivity of several hundred percent or even dozens of times higher, a reduction of capital outlays (compared with widespread traditional technologies), lowered material intensiveness of output, improved quality and sharp improvements in working conditions. Let us mention, in particular, technological means of direct recovery of iron from ore, powder metallurgy, use of a variety of methods for the plastic deformation of metal instead of cutting, use of pressed wooden structures in construction, production of nonwoven fabrics, etc. The dissemination of new technological systems, based on state comprehensive target programs, plays a substantial role in this respect.

It would be erroneous to assume that the possibilities of upgrading efficiency per unit of production capital investments could somehow justify any reduction in their amount. In fact, the correlation between volume and efficiency is inverse: in order for implementing the truly most progressive technological changes in the production process on time we must have adequately large resources; otherwise, inevitably most of the investment will be used for simple maintenance and for the preservation of current technologies. In other words, insufficient capitalization lowers technical production standards. This legitimate link may be traced statistically: a lowering of the growth rates of capital investments lowers their return indicators. The growth in national income by 1 billion rubles' worth of capital investments for production purposes was reduced by a factor of more than 3 between the 5th and the 10th five-year plans. Similar phenomena are indicated in the statistics of other CEMA members. The same connection can be seen in the industrially developed capitalist countries.

In this respect, the optimal strategy of the socialist society is based on the following simple rule: first, if technically possible, it justifies the relatively fast increase in their scale and, second, time itself creates resources for such growth. It is justifiable and even necessary to hold back ineffective investments. However, it would be stupid to hold back highly effective ones. Naturally, in all cases there is an optimal investment limit, beyond which any increase could cause unjustified stress in economic development. However, the higher the efficiency, the higher the limit.

#### Necessary Acceleration of Equipment Replacement

Further national economic development will formulate large-scale demands for real volume, technical standard and efficiency of capital investments.



Above all, major investments are required for the simple maintenance of the already existing level of output. Under conditions in which the prices of items are rising (during the 10th Five-Year Plan, for example, on an average of no less than 30 percent compared with the 9th), outlays for replacing written-off capacities, equipment, etc., turn out, in many cases, to be substantially higher than the balance sheet value of the written-off elements of capital assets. This makes the division of the overall amount of production investments into maintenance outlays and accumulations quite difficult methodically. All computations indicate that maintenance accounts, as a whole, for no less than 50 percent of all capital outlays (including capital repairs). In some sectors of the extracting industry in agriculture, simple maintenance of available machinery during the 11th Five-Year Plan accounted for 80 to 90 percent or more of the newly purchased equipment.

A fleet of machine tools and personnel similar in size to those employed in basic machine building (and exceeding production machine building) are employed in maintaining the equipment with the help of capital and current repairs ("second machine building"). The repair maintenance of equipment (particularly starting with the second capital repair) turns out, in many cases, to be significantly more expensive than the purchasing of new equipment (although prices of the latter are frequently increased); furthermore it does not preserve all operational qualities. At the same time, this process frequently hinders any increases in the work shift coefficient of the equipment, improvements in working conditions, etc. However, it is necessary, given the scarcity of new machines.

In analyzing repair efficiency, we come across a phenomenon the reasons for which are significantly more profound and common: the covert (or concealed) write-off of productive capital: equipment and other labor tools continue to be considered functional although their technical condition has worsened (and, in some cases, their actual utilization has already become physically impossible). The covert writeoff is the inevitable consequence of extending the productive utilization of the equipment beyond the limits of a normal working life. The trend toward such an extension is apparent. Statistical figures indicate that writing off basic production capital, on an annual average in industry (in terms of assets at the beginning of the year), declined from 2.4 percent in 1967-1973 to 1.8 percent in 1974-1977, 1.5 percent in 1978-1980 and 1.3 percent in 1983. Equipment writeoff averaged 2.3 percent in 1983, and was even lower in sectors which determine technical progress (ferrous metallurgy, machine building and the chemical and petrochemical industries).

The precise assessment of the amount of hidden writeoffs is difficult. Nevertheless, scientific results have been obtained offering adequate grounds for approximate evaluations. There is a threshold of normal long-term use of production capacities (in this case, the capacities themselves are defined as the maximally possible volume of output of a given technological system). This threshold theoretically equals 92-94 percent. The result was tested statistically. It turned out that if a certain capacity is used on a level above this threshold, the probability is high that subsequently its level of utilization will drop, frequently even below said threshold. The level of

utilization of more than 60 percent of capacities declined during the 9th Five-Year Plan, capacities which, at the beginning of the five-year plan were used at a level exceeding 93 percent; during the 10th Five-Year Plan this process applied to more than 80 percent of such capacities.

The share of the overall startup of capacities between 1976 and 1980 used to replace covert writeoffs was assessed. It turned out that in the case of some important types of output, 30-40 or even a higher percentage of overall installation of capacities was necessary. Furthermore, a considerable share of the newly installed capacities was used to balance the open writeoffs.

The preservation of obsolete equipment requires higher norms of labor and material production outlays, leads to a worsening of quality, etc.

Under contemporary conditions, the fast increase in the scale of writeoff of labor means has become inevitable. To begin with, this involves the need to replace physically worn-out equipment and other elements of basic production capital. Secondly, since many of the old mineral deposits are nearing exhaustion, the opening of new deposits is inevitable. This calls for building new mines, pits and shafts, the development of new petroleum and natural gas deposits, and so on, to replace existing ones. Thirdly, the likelihood is high that the output of production capacities which are still being used on the level of the already mentioned threshold will decline. At the beginning of the 11th Five-Year Plan they accounted for no less than one-quarter of the total in industry.

The main thing is that the development of essentially new technologies has led to a rather significant moral obsolescence of available equipment. A number of currently widespread technological systems involve relatively high standards of material outlays or even substantial direct losses of raw and other materials caused by disproportions (such as losses of significant amounts of agricultural raw materials as a result of the insufficient development of capacities for the transportation, storage and primary processing of such raw materials; metal losses caused by a lagging of production and processing technology, etc.). Raw material shortages hinder the growth of output. Among other things, intensification means that the growth of finished products is attained essentially by increasing production per unit of raw materials. New technologies and their complexes (such as increasing the strength of rolled steel, replacing it with plastics and aluminum, etc.) create a base for lowering material outlays by substantial percentage points, in many cases by several hundred percent. This, however, calls for abandoning the old technologies and their equipment.

Currently some 50 million people perform manual labor: approximately one-third of the workers in industry, more than one-half in construction and three-quarters in agriculture. A high percentage of them are engaged in auxiliary operations which cannot be avoided before comprehensive production mechanization has been achieved. The proper choice between one of two possibilities is very important: to invest in comprehensive mechanization adapted to existing technology, or replace it with new facilities which, from the very beginning, would exclude most types of manual labor. The danger of the first is that, after making substantial investments in the mechanization

of existing technological systems, shortly afterwards it would become necessary, in any case, to replace them as a result of overall moral obsolescence.

Production intensification and, therefore, economic development as a whole, will be affected decisively by the speed of discarding the old technologies and replacing them with essentially more efficient ones. Global technological progress has come very close to a new and most profound reorganization of material output: mass automation based on modern electronics. The use of computers and microprocessors in existing technologies is merely the first and relatively less efficient stage in such changes which, as a whole, offer the possibility of extensive implementation of new technological principles in the production of a number of commodities; in the future, a drastic increase in their consumer qualities will be attained and new products with predetermined characteristics will be manufactured with lesser social labor outlays for material output. Essentially, it is a question of the intensification of the technological revolution which will be a powerful source for the accelerated growth of our social production forces.

As a whole, these considerations lead to the conclusion of the need substantially to accelerate the replacement of the existing fleet of equipment and other labor tools. Whereas in recent years the average norm of equipment writeoffs (in terms of writeoffs in the available machine fleet at the start of the year) for the national economy as a whole has been approximately 2-4 percent, the real condition of the fleet and contemporary technical progress call for raising this norm to 7-8 percent within a short time (and to an even higher subsequent level). Currently, the overwhelming majority of replacements of written-off equipment are used to replace individual elements which have become totally unusable. With a 7-8 percent norm, no less than one-half of the replacing equipment may be used in achieving technological changes as well. However, even reaching the 8 percent level is the equivalent of more than doubling corresponding investments. Major outlays will also be required for the development of sectors and production facilities (machine building in particular) which ensure the mass production and popularization of advanced equipment.

#### Necessary Prerequisite for Further Economic Upsurge

The change of a technological system on the scale of the national economy should be paralleled by the further expansion of production capacities for the manufacturing of industrial and nonindustrial goods. The Food and Energy programs and other state programs currently being formulated call for large-scale long-term capital investments in a broad range of sectors. The fast expansion of investment activities on the territory of the entire country will be required to ensure the further development of railroad, motor vehicle and air transport, the road and highway network and petroleum and gas pipelines; the development of power-intensive industry in the eastern parts of the country; the further growth of sectors producing consumer goods from nonagricultural raw materials; and housing construction.

A substantial rise in capacities and upgrading technical and organizational standards of the investments complex will be initial prerequisites for the solution of all such problems and ensuring a further economic upsurge.

A certain lagging of the investment complex behind the requirement of developing production forces was one of the most important reasons for the difficulties in economic development which had been apparent since the start of the 1970s. The 25th and 26th CPSU congresses subjected the situation in capital construction, machine building, ferrous metallurgy and other sectors within the complex to a comprehensive critical study. Recent data confirm that the average annual volume of installed capacities has declined for a number of important types of industrial facilities. This situation cannot be considered satisfactory even though the technical standard of newly installed and reconstructed capacities is rising and priorities in the channeling of capital investments are changing.

In the first 4 years of the current five-year plan a further decline in the average annual startup of most types of capacities has taken place, including the electric power industry, ferrous metallurgy, a number of chemical and machine-building sectors, etc.

This applies to the overall installation of capacities, some of which replace already written-off machinery. Their increased volume, achieved during previous periods of economic development, will inevitably entail, subsequently, the absolute increase in the volume of written-off capacities. If the volume of newly commissioned capacities declines in absolute terms or even increases slightly, the volume of capacity increase--the base for increased output--will be reduced even further.

One of the most important reasons for such negative processes is the fast drop in the growth rates of industrial machine building. The 25th and 26th party congresses reemphasized that the development of the economy requires the faster growth of output in sectors which determine technical progress and which, unquestionably, include industrial machine building. For the past 15 years, however, the real growth rates of output of machines and equipment have been below the needs of the economy.

A substantial increase in the output of industrial machine building was achieved for a wide variety of goods in 1983-1984. This was one of the important steps taken in order to eliminate bottlenecks. It contributed to an overall increase in growth rates. Nevertheless, the lagging in machine building was by no means eliminated.

This entire experience is quite instructive. We should use it in planning the further accelerated development of the investment complex, which is the decisive source of economic progress. Industrial machine building plays a leading role in the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution. Multiplying the resources of capital investments means, under contemporary conditions, not the accelerated further increase in the number of people employed in the investment complex (although a partial increase is not excluded) but, above all, their improved labor efficiency. This means that the technical retooling of current production facilities should take place, on

a priority and a particularly intensive basis, within the investment complex itself. The reorganization of the complex is a prerequisite for the reorganization of the entire economy.

Under contemporary conditions, any effective strategy for further economic development would exclude reduced labor outlays for industrial capital investments. In particular, the redistribution of the manpower employed in this area among sectors producing consumer goods cannot substantially increase the volume of such output but could quite rapidly undermine the source of growth of labor productivity and, therefore, the growth of the well-being of the population. The manpower employed in industrial machine building, ferrous metallurgy, the construction organizations and other sectors within the investment complex should be retained by creating, to this effect, a corresponding system of social conditions, on a planned governmental basis.

The overall increase in capital investments resources will require increased material outlays in physical terms, consisting of technically progressive means of production. This can be achieved without any significant increases in labor outlays for the production of corresponding (capital-forming) types of output: on the basis of the growth of labor productivity in sectors which create material resources for investments.

We base this conclusion both on computations of alternatives of future development carried with the help of dynamic multisectorial models of the Soviet national economy, as well as the study of global practical experience. In particular, as statistics indicate, the development of sectors which create sources for technical progress for the economy as a whole, takes place with the accelerated role of labor productivity (compared with other sectors); they use the increased share of all resources for technical progress they generate; under these conditions, employment in said sectors remains virtually stable (it increases significantly less than in the economy as a whole). Specific material outlays remain virtually stable and, in many cases, even decline (particularly in electronics).

A qualitative reorganization of ferrous metallurgy and the drastic increase in the production of advanced types of rolled metal are necessary, without which this sector will be holding back the development of the country's production forces. Although technically progressive solutions lower the relative volume of investments (per unit of results), this sector cannot improve without a substantial absolute increase in investments aimed at a radical technical reconstruction and expansion of capacities.

The upsurge in ferrous metallurgy will decisively depend not only on financing investments in this sector but, above all, on the production capacities of the corresponding construction organizations and procurements of metallurgical equipment. The reconstruction of a number of ferrous metallurgy plants has been postponed for a number of years. The production of metallurgical equipment is falling behind requirements. In our view, the construction of a new major plant for metallurgical machine building must be undertaken as soon as possible. Without this, ever new difficulties will arise in the development of literally all economic sectors (caused by the shortage of machinery and other labor tools made of metal). Until such a plant has been

built, it would be expedient substantially to upgrade the share of metallurgical equipment produced by existing heavy machine-building plants.

Broadening the resources for capital investments channeled both into the reconstruction of existing production facilities as well as the creation of new sectors and enterprises means, above all, an increased scale of output and enhanced technical and economic characteristics of machines and equipment. The current machine-building enterprises have extensive possibilities of increasing returns by converting to the production of new and truly advanced equipment. Furthermore, we must continue to increase machine-building capacity. Already in the 12th Five-Year Plan the growth rates of output in machine building should be increased by a factor of 1.5-2, by maximally utilizing available capacities and undertaking the reconstruction of the sector on a priority basis. To this effect, capital investments in machine building should be increased by a factor of 1.8-2 through partial redistribution; the volume of output of contemporary equipment must be increased sharply. New specialized enterprises must be built for the mass production not only of metallurgical equipment but also of a variety of computers, recorders and other elements needed for the technological utilization of the achievements of electronics, warehousing and lifting, refrigeration and air conditioning equipment, and a number of types of agricultural machines as well as a long list of other machinery and equipment. In turn, the expansion and technological restructuring of machine building would require, as a preliminary condition, an upsurge in machine tool and instrument manufacturing and in the entire informatics industry.

Currently, 10 to 11 percent of all capital investments are used in the development of the investment complex (according to our rough calculations). Its further necessary development requires raising this share now to at least 15-17 percent. In terms of the complex itself this means a fast increase in real investments by 50-70 percent.

In the case of the remaining sectors, which now account for some 90 percent of all capital investments, a reduction of 5-7 percentage points means a short-term lowering of the real volume of investments by 6-8 percent. This would not substantially harm their development. A compensation for such reduced investments may be achieved in no more than 1 or 2 years, after which an overall growth of investments will begin in all sectors thanks to the substantial increase in the scale and enhanced efficiency of the investment process. All sectors will be experiencing increasing difficulties should we fail to pursue such a structural and investment policy.

Steps to accelerate the development complex cannot be postponed. Its development is not self-seeking. It is a necessary preliminary condition for preserving the level already reached and ensuring the further enhancement of the economy as a whole.

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## SOVIET TRADE UNIONS WITHIN THE SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT

AU310501 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85), pp 34-44

[Article by S. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU--capitalized passages published in italics]

[Text] The CPSU devotes exceptionally great attention to further perfecting and developing democracy and the entire system of the people's socialist self-management. While conducting a wide search for more efficient means of exercising democracy, the CPSU is shifting the center of gravity in this work to making better use of the forms of democracy which have been tested in practice and to consistently fulfilling those extensive rights with which every unit in our democratic system has been endowed. The trade unions occupy an important place within this system. After kolkhoz workers joined their ranks the Soviet trade unions became an all-embracing organization of urban and rural workers, an organization unique in terms of its number, which today numbers more than 136 million.

At the various stages of development in the Soviet state the trade unions have been faced with different tasks and the forms of their work have changed, but the basic substance of this work has always remained unchanged--to serve as a Leninist school of involvement and education, a school of administration and management, a school of communism ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 42, p 203). The present concerns of this school are consonant to high degree with the course followed by the communist party to comprehensively perfect the society of developed socialism.

While remaining loyal to their social nature and being, as before, to use the Leninist definition, "between the party and state power" (IBID), the Soviet trade unions more and more actively participate in intensifying the country's economy and ensuring on this basis a qualitatively new level in the people's well-being, and also in deepening the processes leading to the formation of a classless socialist society and to the genuine democracy bequeathed to us by the great Lenin.

The LABOR COLLECTIVE occupies a central place in the present system of social institutions which make it possible to involve every worker in the management of general affairs. First of all it is precisely here in the labor collective

that tasks set by the party--connected with efficiently running the economy, increasing its efficiency and educating the working people--are fulfilled in practice. On the one hand, these tasks are fulfilled the more successfully the more fully the advantages of a centralized, planned, socialist economy are utilized, the firmer state and plan discipline becomes, the more consistently the principle of one-man management in economic leadership is implemented and the higher the responsibility felt by economic leaders for the organization and end results of production proves to be. But on the other hand, as experience irrefutably attests, growth in the efficiency of the national economy and observance of the principle of social justice in labor remuneration are indissolubly connected with increasing the economic independence of enterprises and also the material interest of labor collectives in the results of economic activity which, in its turn, presupposes further strengthening democratic principles in production management and requires the activization of all work done by trade union organizations.

The interaction and development of these two trends will continue to comprise the substance of the process of gradually turning the forms of worker participation in production management into production self-management. The USSR law "On Labor Collectives and Enhancing Their Role in the Management of Enterprises, Institutions and Organizations" is expected to most actively further the development of this process. Being a new and major step in intensifying socialist democracy in general, it has vitally broadened the rights and powers of the trade unions, and the primary trade union organizations in particular. It is primarily through them that the labor collectives participate in resolving all problems connected with economic activity and in production management, by striving to involve every worker and employee in this work.

The main thing here is that the general meeting (conference) of the labor collective has acquired new and greater status. It has become akin to a "collective director" by ensuring the labor collective's participation in production management not only through its representatives in elective organs and not only through social organizations, but also DIRECTLY, by providing it with an opportunity not to limit itself to drawing up proposals and recommendations, but to INDEPENDENTLY adopt decisions on many issues--decisions which have to be carried out by every member of the collective, including the administration. The trade union committees are accorded the right, together with the administration, to convene general meetings, submit concrete issues for their consideration and control the fulfillment of adopted decisions. Wherever a primary trade union organization has been able to reorganize its work in accordance with the requirements of the Law on Labor Collectives, by mainly orienting this work toward giving the labor collective assistance in the fulfillment of its extensive rights, the role of the working people in production management has really increased and leaders' responsibility before the collective has likewise increased.

However, the process of this reorganization has dragged on intolerably. Many trade union committees still conduct their work in the old way. As a result, as it was noted at a meeting between secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee and leaders of industrial associations and enterprises, kolkhozes and



sovkhozes and production brigades, and specialists and scientists, the proper feedback from expanding the rights of the labor collectives has not as yet been received.

Meetings and conferences of labor collectives still rarely examine the major, most topical problems of economic and social development. The collectives are not sufficiently exacting with the administration over its failure to fulfill decisions adopted at general meetings and over its incomplete and not always objective provision of information on the state of affairs in production.

The practice of labor collectives examining proposals put forward by the administration on appointing workers to leading administrative and economic posts is becoming established too slowly. Meanwhile interesting experience has been accumulated in this sphere. For example, it is the practice in the Ministry of the Chemical Industry when appointing directors, chief engineers and deputy directors of associations and enterprises to submit this question to a meeting with representatives of the labor collectives or to general meetings so that the opinion of the working people can be taken into account (this happens at the Dolgoprudnyy Chemical Plant of Refined Organic Synthesis in the Moscow Oblast, the Grodno Khimvolokno Production Association, the Prikumsk Plastics Plant, the Fergana Chemical Fiber Plant, and others). This measure has a most favorable effect on the general moral and psychological climate in the labor collectives and on the results of their work. Everything attests to the fact that this experience deserves to be spread as far as possible.

We have a very great deal to do to ensure that an atmosphere of creative search, efficiency, adherence to principle and a self-critical approach to evaluation of one's work reigns at general meetings and conferences of the working people and that the attention of these meetings is concentrated on the chief problems. These problems include that of perfecting distributive relations. At present funds for work remuneration and economic incentives, in the distribution of which the labor collectives participate, comprise 62 percent of the country's national income. Increasing the responsibility of the labor collectives for ensuring that these vast resources are distributed in strict accordance with the principle of social justice and that they increasingly promote the labor activeness of the masses, growth in the efficiency of socialist production and the social progress of the collectives is one of the most important tasks today facing the trade unions in the sphere of further developing social self-management.

The time which has passed since the adoption of the new law has convincingly demonstrated the necessity to essentially correct the work of PERMANENT PRODUCTION CONFERENCES as applicable to current conditions. Their role as an important component part in the mechanism of self-management and as an effective instrument in expanding the powers of labor collectives and primary trade union organizations in the resolving of economic problems must be considerably increased.

COLLECTIVE CONTRACTS are a tested means of fulfilling the constitutional and democratic rights of the working people directly in production. Practice has shown that abolishing their registration in higher economic and trade union

organs and a negative effect on the fulfillment of bilateral obligations. Now the former system has been restored and the registration of collective contracts must be more actively used to increase parties' responsibility for carrying out jointly planned measures.

Extensive utilization of the additional potentials opened up by the new Regulations on the System of Concluding Collective Contacts will help to improve this work. Brought into line with the Law on Labor Collectives, these regulations have begun to more fully reflect the rights and powers on labor collectives. Of fundamental importance is the fact that now a collective contract is accepted directly by the labor collective itself and not by the trade union committee empowered to do this as before. The labor collective today also appraises the work of the administration and the trade union committee in their fulfillment of bilateral obligations included in the contract, by striving to call to account those persons in breach of these obligations. Thus, the present position of the labor collective in issues connected with concluding and fulfilling collective contracts can be described as truly active in all respects.

The work of trade union committees to fulfill collective contracts is also becoming more substantive. As well as improving this work at enterprises they also have to comprehensively develop the practice of concluding AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEES OF BRANCH TRADE UNIONS AND THE MINISTRIES on the problems of improving labor protection conditions, mechanizing manual labor, introducing rationalizing proposals, and so forth.

The broadest potentials for further involving the working people in production management are inherent in SOCIALIST COMPETITION. At present more than 114 million people participate in it. Competition embraces all spheres of the national economy and has become a characteristic feature of the socialist way of life. Nevertheless the vast potentials opened up by work competition are still far from fully utilized. The trade union organizations are expected to channel the efforts of the competitors to an increasing extent into resolving the key tasks of the party's economic policy. It is extremely important not only to maintain, but also to speed up the rates of economic and social development reached in the last 2 years, and also to consolidate the positive changes that are taking place in the work of the majority of the branches of the national economy. The complex and large-scale tasks of the contemporary stage--tasks which affect every aspect of our lives--can only be fulfilled, it was emphasized at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, by relying on the living creativity of the people, on their intellect, talent and work.

During socialist competition, which has been particularly widely developed throughout the entire country in connection with the preparation that has begun of the 27th CPSU Congress, it is essential to work out forms of participation of organizations in resolving the problem of lagging enterprises. The practice of advanced collectives assuming patronage over those that are lagging has justified itself and consequently needs to be made more widespread. It is essential to organize the propaganda of the best experience in this plan. The practice of transferring experienced leaders to lagging collectives should be encouraged in every possible way. It is important simultaneously also to interest so-called "middling" collectives in

gradually achieving higher and higher indexes, by creating favorable conditions for them to do this and giving them every possible assistance. Competition must be organized in such a way so that every participant in it--be it an individual worker or a collective--has a concrete goal and steadily increases his efforts in the struggle to reach this goal.

In our opinion, those trade union and economic organizations act correctly which, when summing up socialist competition, not only determine the winners who occupy the top places, but also the outsiders, so to speak, while working out measures to assist those lagging behind, eliminate shortcomings at middling enterprises and consolidate positive changes in their work. While making use of available experience one should think out and introduce a system of moral (and, as far as possible, material) incentives for those collectives which, in overcoming their lagging, achieve accelerated rates of production development and noticeably improve their work.

A special place in the organization of socialist competition rightly belongs to COUNTERPLANNING. The trade unions not only take into account the obvious economic and social benefit which it gives both the state and the enterprises, but also the fact that it is becoming a school of direct participation in planning activity for all members of the labor collective. Precisely such a school has been experienced, for example, by the collective of the Uralkhimmash Association in Sverdlovsk Oblast, which developed a program for comprehensive economic and social development for 1985 and the 12th Five-Year Plan period on the basis of production intensification. The counterplan, in which everything has been weighed up and considered most carefully, envisages maximum growth rates in production volumes and production efficiency. Development of the plan began from the bottom--with the brigade, the sector, the workshop. Thus, one can say that the association went not from the plan to the individual, but from the individual to the plan. It is our opinion that precisely such--optimum--counterplans must increase in number.

Concerned that socialist competition should play an increasing role in the fulfillment of economic tasks and in worker involvement in production management, we turn serious attention to perfecting democratic forms of organizing work competition, while waging a struggle against manifestations of formalism and bureaucracy in this matter.

The high degree of development in democratic principles in production management is also attested to by the scientific-technological creativity of the working people, which has now grown on a large scale and which takes its course within the framework of scientific-technological societies and the society of inventors and rationalizers. This is also attested to by the activities of such organizations of the working people as public design and technological offices, social councils, offices and groups of economic analysis, norm-setting offices, public personnel departments, councils of innovators and many other forms of mass production and economic work organized by the trade unions. We consider it our duty to carefully and solicitously cultivate and develop these beginnings of genuine social self-management.

The party indissolubly connects reaching new, high frontiers in society's socioeconomic progress with further growth in the awareness and culture of the

working people and with the necessity to form in every Soviet individual a clear understanding of the scale and complexity of the tasks today facing the country, as well as the readiness and ability to fulfill these tasks by acting with energy and initiative and striving for the highest possible results.

The conclusion drawn by the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that IDEOLOGICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND PROPAGANDIST WORK IS NOW MOVING into the foreground is of principled significance for the trade unions. This conclusion attests to the necessity to comprehensively intensify the educational function of the trade unions. It is of program significance in their practical work connected with the communist education of the working people.

It is primarily a question of making more skillful use of the entire aggregate of those means and forms of trade union work which are directly connected with the most vital part of communist education--education in work. The center of this work is more and more noticeably shifting directly into the production brigades--the primary cells of the labor collective. The brigade contract is the most effective form of organizing production cooperation. At the same time it is also a fundamentally new form of worker self-management, which develops a sense of collective responsibility for the task in hand and also creative initiative, and instills managerial skills in people. It is precisely here, it was emphasized at the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee on 8 April, that the key lies to giving powerful impetus to our democracy.

Aleksey Fedorovich Shumilkin, leader of a brigade of metal workers and fitters at the Moscow S. Ordzhonikidze Machine Tool Construction Plant expressed the essence of the brigade method as follows. "I believe," he said, "that economic leaders are not only the plant directors and workshop heads, but also us, the brigade leaders and brigade workers. True, our economic unit is somewhat smaller, but this does not reduce our responsibility for the cause we serve."

Actively participating in the development of the brigade form of work organization and incentives, the trade unions are now concentrating their attention on increasing the results of brigade work, mainly with the aid of introducing the economic accountability system, remunerating labor according to end results and applying the coefficient of work participation. In this respect it is important to complete the corresponding reorganization of the planning and material-technical supply of brigade production activity. As yet this reorganization is being carried out extremely timidly in many cases. What has to be made more widespread is the experience of a number of scientific-technological societies which have put forward the initiative of arranging engineering supply for the brigades' successful fulfillment of socialist obligations and proposed concluding agreements with them. On creative cooperation--agreements aimed at overfulfilling tasks connected with growth in labor productivity and other indexes of production efficiency.

With the mass introduction of the brigade contract one must not lose sight of further developing INDIVIDUAL SOCIALIST COMPETITION. It is no secret that, in many cases, after the transition has been made to working in the new way, competition at enterprises has begun to be held only between brigades. This

kind of one-sided approach threatens to reduce the force of the personal example of the front-rank worker and innovator in production, that is, the main figure in any production process. One should not forget dangers of this kind. The whole of our educational work is based on concrete examples, addressed to the minds and hearts of the working people, of feats of labor by the best representatives of the country's workers class. They include Twice Heroes of Socialist Labor Yegor Ivanovich Drozdetskiy, Mikhail Pavlovich Chikh and Valentina Nikolayevna Golubeva, Heroes of Socialist Labor Vladimir Andreyevich Zatvornitskiy, leader of a complex brigade at the SU-6 Mosstroy No 1 Trust and Pavel Vasilyevich Popov, leader of an amalgamated lumber brigade at the Komsomolskoye Timber and Wood Processing Industrial Trust of the All-Union Tyumenlesprom Timber Industry Association, laureate of the 1984 USSR State Prize Aleksandr Antonovich Chegrakhchi, steel founder at the Novolipetsk Yu. V. Andropov Metallurgical Combine, Sergey Mikhaylovich Fifilin, leader of a brigade of forgers and press operators at the Moscow I. A. Likhachev Automobile Plant and many, many other comrades who have become real heroes in the struggle to fulfill the tasks of the 10th and 11th five-year plans.

TRADE UNION GROUPS which have now been set up are expected to help to turn the brigades into valuable institutions of social self-management and to enhance their role in communist education and in the strengthening of socialist work discipline. These basic units within the structure of the trade unions operate, so to speak, in the front ranks of the labor front--directly in the work place--and thereby constitute the first, but very important step in the Leninist school of involving the working people in socialist construction, the school of teaching them communism. A total of 3,665,000 trade union groups--this is exactly how many classes there are in the aforementioned school, which make it possible to get through to virtually every worker, employee and kolkhoz worker and to involve them in active production and social life and in management of the affairs of their enterprise, kolkhoz and institution.

Considerable educational potential is inherent in the INDEPENDENT NATURE OF TRADE UNION WORK. In 91 cases out of 100 the trade union committees of primary organizations do not have a single paid worker on their staff. The number of trade union members comprising the trade union aktiv, that is, having permanent social tasks, has reached 75 million. As a result of the reports and election which recently finished, the representation of workers and kolkhoz workers in the trade union committees of industrial and agricultural enterprises has increased from 53 to 68 percent. There are now more workers, kolkhoz workers, and also more women and young people among the leaders of trade union organizations. Through personal experience they become acquainted with the forms and methods of socialist self-management and the rules of internal trade union life, which constitutes a vital aspect of trade union activity as a Leninist school of communism.

And that is why it is extremely important for THE STYLE OF TRADE UNION WORK to fully correspond today to Leninist norms. This work must be subordinated to cultivating in the working people such qualities necessary to every Soviet individual as efficiency and adherence to principle, sensitivity and responsiveness to the needs of one's work comrade, socialist discipline and intolerance of formalism, creation of paperwork and red tape.

Naturally, workers' direct participation in management is the more effective, the higher the level of their economic preparedness, competence and knowledge of affairs in the enterprise. In recent years schools of communist labor have developed in the most mass form of economic education and training for the working people. "Our Worker University"--this is what the workers themselves call these schools. This year more than 24 million people, including approximately 6 million agricultural workers, are training at 943,000 schools of communist labor. Today these schools are faced with the exceptionally serious task of cultivating in their students the kind of economic thinking that is directed toward accelerating production intensification and scientific-technological progress and forming in every worker an active position in life. Aware of their special responsibility for the work of schools of communist labor relying on the assistance of party organs, and strengthening their ties with science, the trade unions will strive to further enhance their role in socialist self-management and in the education of the working people.

Clubs, halls and palaces of culture, libraries and other cultural and educational institutions under the jurisdiction of trade unions and capable of simultaneously admitting more than 15 million people are also expected to make a contribution to the task of communist education. Exceptionally great is the role of the trade union press, which publishes many millions of copies of newspapers, journals and books.

A key issue in the development and perfection of the people's socialist self-management has been and remains that of CORRELATING STATE AND SOCIAL PRINCIPLES IN THE GENERAL SYSTEM OF DEMOCRACY. Soviet trade unions regard their task as being that of persistently and consistently strengthening and expanding existing relations of unity and cooperation with the organs of state power.

These relations have deep historical roots. This year we are marking the 80th anniversary of the first Russian revolution in 1905-1907, during the development of which both the first soviets came into being and the first trade union organizations of workers--the prototype of Soviet power and Soviet trade unions.

This is not the first decade in which our country's trade unions have structured their activities and their relations with the party and the state on the basis of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, which makes it possible to successfully combine the creativity and initiative of the masses and the local initiative so highly valued by Lenin with the advantages of centralized planning of socioeconomic development and management of socialist society. The petty bourgeois idea of setting state and social principles in opposition to each other and interpreting the role of trade unions as some kind of political force in opposition to the socialist state is deeply alien to us. What kind of opposition can be envisaged here, if our state is vitally interested in ensuring that trade union organizations fulfill their production, educational and protective functions as fully as possible and work even more actively for the good of all working people and the entire nation? Throughout its entire history the Soviet state has never promulgated

one law which would in some way restrict the activities of trade unions and their rights and freedoms.

While the governments of many capitalist states pursue a clearly expressed antiworker, antitrade union policy, constantly cut the rights won by trade unions in a difficult class struggle and subject to utter defeat those organizations unwelcome to them, the Soviet state steadily follows a path of EXPANDING TRADE UNION RIGHTS and giving trade unions comprehensive assistance and aid in their work.

The 1977 USSR Constitution confirmed that trade unions are an influential social force and, in accordance with their statutory tasks, participate in the management of state and social affairs and in the resolving of political, economic and sociocultural problems. It is precisely on this that THE UNITY OF SOVIET TRADE UNIONS AND THE PEOPLE'S STATE POWER is based and in accordance with which their cooperation develops and grows stronger.

As is well-known, trade unions fulfill a number of state functions independently. "We have a 'marvelous means,'" wrote Lenin, "of INCREASING our state apparatus TENFOLD immediately, at one stroke, a means which not one capitalist state has ever possessed and cannot ever possess. It is a marvelous thing--involving the working people...in the everyday work of managing the state" (ibid, vol 34, p 313).

A convincing example confirming this Leninist thesis is the state social insurance for working people and the management of sanatoria and health resort matters in the country--which are the responsibility of the trade unions. Since 1933, when the functions of the organs of the USSR People's Commissariat of Labor were transferred to the trade unions, expenditure on state social insurance has increased 100 times--from 485 million to 48.5 billion rubles, while the proportion of expenditure on the maintenance of the administrative apparatus dealing with social insurance has decreased by more than 60 times. The trade unions carry out the main part of the work connected with social insurance with the forces of their 5 million activists. And in this case there is every ground for saying that, by introducing working people to practical affairs in this sphere and to the practice of forming and utilizing the multibillion social insurance budget, the trade unions foster the skills of management in them and cultivate in them the qualities of thrifty managers of state resources and sensitivity and responsiveness to the needs of work comrades.

In the hands of the trade unions social insurance has become one of the most effective levels in increasing people's work activeness and developing their initiative and also a most important means of strengthening their health and preventing illness. Today it is expected to stimulate work still more consistently in strict accordance with the socialist principle of social justice. This aim must also be served by the organization of sanatoria and health resort treatment for working people--an organization which has increased in scale many times over--including at the sanatoria and preventive clinics of enterprises, institutions and organizations.

The trade unions also actively exercise the great rights granted them in the sphere of STATE SUPERVISION AND PUBLIC CONTROL OVER WORKING CONDITIONS AND LABOR PROTECTION. There are more than 4.5 million members of commissions and public inspectors for labor protection--such is the basis of social self-management implemented through the trade unions in this important sphere of life of the Soviet working people.

THE HARMONIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF EVERY UNIT OF THE SOCIALIST POLITICAL SYSTEM is taking place before our very eyes by means of increasing and intensifying the interaction of these units and perfecting the forms and methods of involving Soviet people in the management of state and social affairs.

Practice has developed diverse FORMS OF COOPERATION BETWEEN TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS AND SOVIETS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES, which are implemented at all levels--both branch and regional--and embrace every aspect of trade union activity. We would particularly like to emphasize the fruitfulness of joint actions by trade union and Soviet organs in resolving social problems, that is, where the protective functions of the trade unions are most in evidence.

In the name of the working people the trade unions submit their own proposals on addenda and changes to draft state plans for economic and social development and also other fundamental documents on the problems of labor organization and remuneration, social insurance and the rest and education of the working people.

It is frequently the case that the most important aspects of activity in these spheres are regulated by joint resolutions adopted by government and trade union organs. In 1984 alone the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the Presidium for the Secretariat of the AUCCTU adopted 240 joint resolutions. A number of resolutions were adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers in conjunction with the AUCCTU.

Together with soviets of people's deputies, trade union councils and committees organize socialist competition between labor collectives, rayons and cities to successfully fulfill and overfulfill plans for social construction and to increase the output and improve the quality of consumer goods.

Implementation of the Food and Energy programs and the school reform has become their common cause. Today the trade unions and organs of Soviet power resolve hand in hand the problems comprehensively developing enterprises, cities, oblasts, health resort regions and transport, and concern themselves with strengthening the health of the working people, organizing their rest and arranging mass cultural and physical-sports work among the population. With the aim of improving cultural and educational work among rural workers, the soviets of people's deputies and the trade unions have combined their efforts to build already more than 5,000 cultural and sports complexes in rural areas.

The struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism, and the establishment of a sober way of life is now one of the most important joint tasks of the trade unions and soviets of people's deputies.



It is well-known that from the very first days of our socialist state's existence, Soviet trade unions have participated most directly and actively in realizing the Leninist idea of ubiquitous, general, universal and NATIONWIDE CONTROL over production and distribution, control which, to quote Lenin, "is within the reach of every honest, intelligent, capable worker and peasant..." (ibid, vol 35, 201).

In the last 2 years the number of control groups set up in trade union organizations has significantly increased and the number of social controllers has grown to reach 4 million. Together with the organs of people's control they fulfill a broad range of duties connected with control activity both in the sphere of labor relations and in the sphere of services and social construction. These joint actions appreciably widen the limits of control work, enrich its content and assist practical study of the methods of controlling hundreds of thousands of socially engaged individuals--workers, peasants and employees.

The organization of broader and more effective joint actions at the level of trade union committees in enterprises, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, and city, rayon and rural soviets will undoubtedly help to further strengthen cooperation between trade unions and organs of Soviet power. The Law on Labor Collectives opens up considerable possibilities for actions of this kind.

The trade unions also connect consolidation of their position within the system of socialist democracy with intensifying COOPERATION WITH THEIR NATURAL ALLIES, SUCH AS THE KOMSOMOL, COOPERATIVES AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE (women's organizations, unions of creative workers and so forth).

Enhancing the role of the trade unions within the system of social self-management at the stage of developed socialism is an objective law. However, this is by no means A MECHANICAL PROCESS. IT DOES NOT PROGRESS OF ITS OWN ACCORD, AUTOMATICALLY, BUT AS A RESULT OF THE PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, WHICH IS THE LEADING AND GUIDING FORCE OF SOVIET SOCIETY AND THE CORE OF ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM.

The CPSU has always worked and continues to work to ensure that the trade unions fulfill their functions as best possible and more fully reflect the mood of the masses. Our party treats the trade unions with trust, respects their organizational independence and assists their more effective participation in every aspect of social life.

The breadth and complexity of the tasks set by the party to perfect developed socialism and the necessity for still greater self-initiative and social activeness on the part of the people so that these tasks can be successfully fulfilled stipulate a further increase in the ideological-political leadership of the trade unions on the part of the CPSU. It cannot be otherwise, because only the communist party, which is armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and has great practical experience of political and revolutionary struggle for the interests of the working people, as well as experience in the leadership of socialist construction, is in a position to understand all the complexities and contradictions of the contemporary world and to organize and channel in the right direction the sociohistorical creativity of the masses.

Relations of unity and the closest possible cooperation have become firmly established between Soviet trade unions and the Leninist party. The CPSU calls upon the trade union organizations to organize their work in such a way so as not to stand apart from a single economic task being resolved today. And this means that Soviet trade unions are bound to be constantly guided in all their activities by their understanding of the great significance of our society's socioeconomic development of comprehensively accelerating the rates of scientific-technological progress and are obliged to involve all the strata of the working people in creative participation in this process. The achievements of scientific-technological progress must be utilized far more actively than before in order to further improve working conditions, increase labor productivity and liquidate heavy and manual labor. All this will open up additional possibilities for Soviet people to study and rest, participate in social activities and production management and more fully exercise their political and democratic right, primarily the right to be sovereign masters of their country.

Supporting the legislative initiative of the trade unions and taking care to quickly and efficiently implement their proposals, the CPSU quite widely practices the adoption of joint decisions by party and state organs and social organizations, which are concerned with the most major issues affecting the interests of all working people. Thus, joint resolutions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee have determined measures for organizing all-union socialist competition during the 11th Five-Year Plan and improving the economic training and education of the working people; and the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministries and the AUCCTU have adopted resolutions on the problems of further developing and perfecting tourist and excursion affairs in the country, improving sanatoria and health resort treatment and rest for working people and developing the network of trade union sanatoria. Joint decisions on these and other issues have also been adopted by the Central Committees of communist parties, Councils of Ministers and trade union councils in the union republics.

In January 1985 the trade unions completed their accountability report and election campaign. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo's examination of the question of the tasks of party organizations in connection with reports and elections in trade unions had a great, fruitful effect on the results of this campaign. The accountability report and election campaign demonstrated the close cohesion of Soviet trade unions around the communist party and also the broad working masses' fervent approval of the party's domestic and foreign policy, the aim of which is to sharply raise the country's economy, considerably improve the people's well-being and ensure lasting peace on earth.

While channeling the increasing labor and political activeness of workers, employees, kolkhoz workers and their social organizations into fulfilling the tasks facing the country, the party strives to enhance the vanguard role of communists, including those elected to trade union organs, by demanding of each of them exemplary fulfillment of their social duties.

At present the main attention of the party, state organs and social organizations is concentrated on resolving the complex and large-scale problems of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. In this connection party organizations and trade unions are faced with the task of more fully and effectively utilizing the decisive factor in all changes--the human factor--and bringing about a change in the cadres' mind and mood from top to bottom, by concentrating attention on what is most important--scientific-technological progress. "The whole of party experience," it was noted at the June conference in the CPSU Central Committee, "attests to the fact that little can be changed in the economy, management and education if there is no psychological reorganization and if the desire and ability to think and work in a new way are not developed."

Preparation for the next, 27th Party Congress is developing on an ever wider scale in the country. Perceiving the plans of the party as their own vital cause, Soviet trade unions will prepare for the CPSU Congress by further intensifying organizational work, which is expected to assist implementation of the party's strategic course aimed at comprehensively perfecting socialism which has been built in our country and at developing the people's socialist self-management.

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CSO: 1802/16-F

## EIGHT CENTURIES LATER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85) pp 45-59

[Text] No historical document has been preserved showing the precise period when the poem "Lay of the Host of Igor" originated. Several hypotheses exist attributing its origin to the 1280s-1290s. Each of them is supported by convincing arguments, but not one of them so far can be considered unquestionable. Most of the works of Ancient Rus were created gradually, by stages. The campaign of the Novgorod-Seversk Prince Igor Svyatoslavich in the Polovetsk Steppe, which is described in the "Lay," took place as we know, in April-May 1185. The first reaction to it, unquestionably, followed immediately after Igor's defeat. It was precisely immediately after the defeat that it became necessary to call upon all Russian princes to unite and to "surround the Pole gates with their sharp arrows." The circumstances of the campaign are so clearly reflected in the content of the work and in its overall emotionality that the impression is one of "immediacy" of the record. That is why the "Lay" is filled with a most live and sharp pain caused by the defeat of the Russian forces which, with a daring bordering on recklessness, marched against the steppe enemies of Russia who were constantly worrying it with their fierce rage, the enslavement of the population and the wreckage of its cities. The poem could have quite well ended with the "golden words" of Kiev's Prince Svyatoslav, who called upon all principalities to take up the defense of Rus. The end, related to Igor's return from captivity, could have been written somewhat later and by the same author. This idea has been expressed by the researchers and appears quite accurate.

All of this leads us to believe that regardless of the time this work of poetry acquired its final shape, the concept of it had matured by the year 1185. That is why, although we have no reliable knowledge as to the time the "Lay" was created, the most accurate time for the celebration of its 800th anniversary would be precisely 1985.

The "Lay of the Host of Igor" belongs to world culture. The resolution "On the Celebration of the 800th Anniversary of 'Lay of the Host of Igor'" was adopted at the 22nd session of the UNESCO general conference in 1983. Among others, the resolution states the following:

"Having acknowledged the permanent significance of this work in the establishment of Russian and Slavic literatures, which are also contributions to the treasury of world literature;

"Having noted the great role of the ideas of peace and humanism in the establishment of a global spiritual culture, invested in this work;

"Having taken into consideration the widespread international fame of this literary monument and influence which it, along with other greatest works of ancient literatures, continues to have on the global literary process;

"The session calls upon the scientific and cultural public of the members of UNESCO extensively to mark this outstanding anniversary in the history of world culture and suggests to the director general to implement a number of specific measures involving the participation of UNESCO in the celebration of the 800th anniversary of the creation of this outstanding monument of world literature." In joining in the measures to celebrate the 800th anniversary of the "Lay of the Host of Igor," KOMMUNIST offers its pages to noted Soviet scientists and men of literature and culture. The readers' attention will be probably drawn on some disparities in the viewpoints expressed by our authors. This is natural, for they all have their own view concerning the "Lay." As has always been the case, viewpoints on the work have differed. Obviously, all of this proves the tremendous depth and comprehensiveness of this masterpiece of medieval culture. All of our authors, however, are unanimous in agreeing that the ideological and artistic force of this 12th-century work is inexhaustible. The "Lay of the Host of Igor" is one of the greatest, universally famous works of ancient Russian culture. It is like a bridge along the huge road of life, enabling modern man to be in touch with the moral, ideological and aesthetic values accumulated in the course of centuries and millenia; it helps us better to feel our ties with our people, their hopes and accomplishments and their pains and joys.

With its lofty patriotism expressed in sensitive lyrical terms, the "Lay" attracts many people the world over, from Japan in the East to South America, on the opposite side of the globe. Love for homeland makes the "Lay" understandable and "eternal." That is why so many simple people, not only philology specialists, read the "Lay," study it, translate it and interpret some "dark" passages, which are frequently encountered in ancient monuments. The artistic nature of the "Lay" attracts, excites and pleases the readers and unquestionably confirms the high standards of old Rus--a Rus which was still independent, which had not bowed under the yoke of the conquest of the Horde and which was the common mother of the three fraternal Eastern Slavic peoples--the Belorussians, the Ukrainians and the Russians.

D. Likhachev, academician: THE GOLDEN WORD OF ANCIENT RUSSIAN LITERATURE

The "Lay of the Host of Igor" is not merely a work of art. It is exceptionally important in terms of its ideological content, for it occupies a leading position in the literature of the Eastern Slavs.

The "Lay" calls for the unification of the entire Kiev Rus, at a period in its

history (12th century) when state relations among the individual principalities appeared to be totally broken down but when, nevertheless, language, folklore, historical memory and literature had developed into a binding force. The commonality of culture was not only a restraining principle but the beginning of a developing national statehood awareness.

The call in the "Lay" for unity in the face of external danger and the persistent reminder of the need for unity remain entirely relevant to this day. This is a kind of symbol and behest, a most profound concern for us, the descendants. The "Lay" is entirely turned to the future and it is thus that it harnesses the history, culture and nature of Rus, as an example to us. It is "at the head," if one may say so, of Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian literatures.

The "Lay of the Host of Igor" is a work of amazing artistic and ideological power. This power is found, above all, in its closeness to verbal folklore. It is a direct, an organic rather than stylistic or imitative closeness. Although the fact that this is not the record of an eyewitness is obvious, but a work which includes some literary elements inherent in the monuments of that time, artistically it is compiled in a popular way, in the spirit of the people's sorrows and glories. Equally popular is the "Lay" paganism combined with some elements of Christianity, for the plot ends with the fact that Igor, the hero of the poem, goes to thank the "Pirogoshchaya" Virgin for his liberation; before that, however, his wife Yaroslavna prays to the wind, the Dnepr and the sun. The "Lay" is a monument of Russian folk twin faith or, rather, of the people's faith in Russian nature and in a relatively new religion--Christianity--which, however, is perceived in a pagan spirit.

Despite the popular view that the folklore of any nation is totally original and radically different from that of other nations, it does not divide the peoples but unites them on the basis of common aesthetic and ideological principles. That is why "Lay of the Host of Igor" is so close to the great European epics of its time, such as Shota Rustaveli's poem "Knight in the Panther Skin," "The Song of Roland," the "Song of Nibelungen," "El Cid," the Scandinavian sagas, and others. All of these works belong to a period shared by all literatures during which folklore becomes literature and gives birth to great national poems. Pagan beliefs link "Lay" with the Eastern cultures. "Lay" is both a national and a universal monument.

Equally noteworthy is the following: This small "Lay of the Host of Igor" covers huge geographic areas and has a broad historical background. Its action keeps shifting from one end of the Russian land to the other: from Tmutarakan and Korsun in the south to Novgorod in the north, from Galich and Karpat on the west to the Volga on the east. The "Lay" mentions many cities and rivers, large and small. It includes in the narration a variety of peoples--Hungarians, Venetians, Poles, Eastern peoples, etc. It depicts huge landscapes, covering peculiar "landscape views" of many rivers and different cities of the Russian land. The personages have been gifted with the same inordinately sharp hearing as the author himself: a bell ringing in one city can be heard in another; princes converse over huge distances and move quickly. The author looks at the Russian land as though from the clouds. That is why he so frequently mentions birds and particularly likes the fast

wild animals, pardus, wolves, foxes.... "Lay" is equally broad historically, ranging from Vladimir "the Elder" to princes contemporary to the author, whom he not only names but tries to describe and involve in current events.

One could say that "Lay of the Host of Igor" is addressed to us as well. Ever since its discovery, at the turn of the 1790s, it immediately began to stimulate interest in Russian history, led to the study of the artistic aspects of ancient Russian literature and its language and folklore, and played a tremendous role in the development of Russian literature. It was attentively studied by a great number of outstanding Russian poets and prose writers. Excerpts from the "Lay" brought an amazing poetical quality to any work of modern Russian literature. The "Lay" was particularly effective during the Great Patriotic War. In besieged Leningrad it inspired Aleksandr Prokofyev and Olga Berggolts and lifted the spirit of the defenders of the fortress on the Neva.

This short poem is a peculiar literary miracle, one of the most artistically active works of world literatures. It is a letter sent to us from the 12th century with an arrow shot from the powerful shoulder of a defender of the homeland. It enjoys universal love and very close attention of students and mere amateurs--the broad Soviet and foreign readership. Translations of the "Lay" into the main languages of the world uncontroversially confirm the antiquity and heights of Russian culture.

B. Rybakov, academician: HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE 'LAY OF THE HOST OF IGOR'

A number of scientific questions related to the study of this brilliant monument to 12th century Russian social thought arise in connection with the 800th anniversary of this immortal poem.

The high poetic merits of the "Lay" are obvious. The author has surpassed even the best of his contemporaries who were famous for their refined style and artistic form, such as the noted Kirill Turovskiy. However, the "Lay" does not include even a hint of church eloquence; we find here nature, we find the fate of peoples and countries and, finally, the romanticism of pagan old times. We are amazed by the exceptional scope of the author's outlook and chronological depth of historical references: he encompasses within his sight all Rus, the entire Polovetskaya Steppe to the foothills of the Caucasus and half of Europe, including Venice and Germany. In the depth of centuries as well, the author looks 800 years back, or by as many as separate him from us.

The style of the "Lay" influenced its contemporaries to such an extent that chroniclers of the end of the 12th century also tried to depict events in a poetic form. However, this poem did not become a monument of world culture because of its artistic merits alone. On the eve of the campaigns of Batyya, another anonymous author blamed in a very poetic form similar to "Lay" the princes living in his time for discord and infighting, which were dooming the "brightest of the bright and beautifully embellished Russian land." At the beginning of the 14th century, the "Lay of the Host of Igor" was also cited in works condemning the feudal intestine strifes (1307). After the victory won

on Kulikovo Field, which was the result of the patriotic unification of Russian lands, a new poem--"Zadonshchina"--was created, compositionally structured in the "Lay" style. Two centuries ago, when the manuscript of the "Lay of the Host of Igor" became known to Russian society, thanks to the efforts of A. I. Musin-Pushkin, the collector of antiquities, it immediately drew attention as a work of poetry as well as an important source of study of medieval social thought.

The "Lay of the Host of Igor" is not only a poem but a wise political treatise, full of profound patriotism, which analyzes historical phenomena over a long time span and contains a system of proofs dressed in poetic garb.

A great variety of viewpoints and interpretations of individual parts as well as the overall meaning of the poem may be found in our literature. Therefore, it is above all a strict historical approach that must be adopted in its assessment.

The frequently repeated assertion that its author opposed feudal divisions is an example of the most obvious idealizing of the poem's content. Such is not the case. The author has invested the entire power of his convictions in the idea of the military, the defensive unity of Rus in the face of the threatening Polovtsy invasion of the 1180s without condemning in the least the heads of the sovereign states which were formed from the single Kiev Rus. On the contrary, he properly praised the power of princes such as Yaroslav Galitskiy or Vsevolod Bolshoye Gnezdo. The crystallizing of some 15 principalities was a progressive phenomenon at that time; what was negative was their subsequent real splintering. However, this took place only in the 13th century. At the time the "Lay" was written, the Russian lands were experiencing a common blossoming and a growth of urban culture, as confirmed, for example, by the development of new architectural styles and progress in literature and social thinking.

The author of the "Lay" condemned angrily and boldly disputes among princes and bloody internecine fights, which had broken out long before the feudal splintering and which were still taking place in his time. This was the voice of the people, although, clearly, the author belonged to the social upper crusts.

Another example of the inadequate historical information of some interpreters of the "Lay" is the excessive idealizing of Prince Igor. He is frequently depicted as a zealous patriot courageous defending the independence of all Rus from the Polovtsy. Those who think this are misled by the condescending tone of the poem in addressing the prince, who lost his troops in the steppe and who opened the "gate to the Pole." Why did the troops of the Severskoye principality perish? First of all, because Igor had mounted a hasty separate campaign at the very time when the Grand Duke Svyatoslav was rallying forces for an all-Russian campaign on the Don. Secondly, because, after capturing a small Polovtsy camp, Igor's light cavalry had become so overburdened with booty that the entire army was forced to camp overnight in the steppe.

Why did the author of "Lay," who described all of this in his poem, nevertheless try to awaken sympathy for Igor, who was blamed by the Kiev



prince, the Greeks, the Czechs and the Venetians? Because he stood above the private and the individual: Igor traveled to Kiev to seek military help and the author takes his side in the ardent desire to smash the "unhelpful prince" for the sake of the common cause.

Igor's April-May 1185 campaign was not the only unseemly action of the Seversk prince: in the year 1180, allied with the khans Kobyak and Konchak he participated in the internecine fight and led his steppe allies along the Russian lands up to the Western Dvina. In 1184, when Svyatoslav of Kiev mounted a general preventive campaign against the Polovtsy, Igor and the Olgovich, his Chernigov relatives, refused to participate: "It is far for us to go down the Dnepr." In the spring of 1185, when the Kievians were repelling Konchak's attack on the Podneprove, once again Igor declined to participate in the common campaign, saying that "the fog was quite thick" and that his troops had been unable to find their way to the main forces.

The author of the "Lay" applies the full power of his talent somehow to smooth the depressing impression made by the prince's behavior. He speaks of the personal courage of Igor and Buy-Tur Vsevolod, and the prince's daring and dangerous escape from capture; he paints a charming picture of Yaroslavna, who is trying to help her wounded husband. The author, who limits himself to such forced compliments to Igor, lets it be understood that his main concern was the fate of Rus in the grandiose and continuing clashes with the Polovtsy in the mid-1180s.

To idealize Igor and to consider him the main hero in the poem (or virtually its author) and a selfless defender of the Russian land means to make him a character of an operetta libretto rather than stick to historical facts.

Even less acceptable is the other trend, expressed either in belittling the merits of Grand Duke Svyatslav of Kiev, the organizer of the opposition to Konchak in 1184-1185, or in belittling the author of the "Lay," accusing him of failing to understand anything of the reality of his time and living with some kind of obsolete patriarchal ideals.

Svyatoslav Vsevolodich Chernigovskiy was grand duke of Kiev four times: in 1174, 1176, 1176-1180 and, finally, from 1181 to 1194. In repelling Konchak's campaign on Pereyaslavl and Kiev (his final objective) the main role was his: he asked for "aid" from remote areas and headed the troops deployed on the right bank of the Dnepr, from Trepol to Kanev and, together with other princes, crossed the Dnepr to liberate besieged Pereyaslavl ("Svyetoslav with Ryurik and other helpers crossed the Dnepr against the Polovtsy"). Svyetoslav's appeal to the Russian princes, his "golden words" were a hyperbole quite close to reality, for shortly before that, in 1184, virtually all princes (from Galicia, Volyn, Smolensk and Turovsk) had taken part in the victorious campaign against Kobyak, under his banners. There are absolutely no grounds to consider Svyetoslav a second-rate prince, as is sometimes done.

As to the author of "Lay," all that he wrote was the result of his excellent knowledge of events at the time in their entire contradictory nature. The historical study made by the author of the "Lay of the Host of Igor" amazes us with the accuracy and fine analysis of historical events and phenomena. The

author of the poem did not present his contemporaries with obsolete prescriptions or sterile recollections of some kind of patriarchal age; with his entire wisdom he tried to condemn the deserting princes, such as Davyd of Smolensk, who had gone home from the front which opposed Konchak in the summer of 1185, and to rally all princes for the common battle for Rus, which was due in the immediate future. This is not a patriarchal archaic tale but a vital nationwide patriotic task for the "hard times" of the Polovtsy invasions.

Therefore, the title itself "Lay of the Host of Igor" may be interpreted as a poem dedicated to the tragic campaign waged by two brothers, Russian princes, in April-May 1185. However, compared with the historical reality of 1160-1180, the entire content of the poem and the pan-Russian aspirations of the author-patriot indicate a significantly broader concept of the poem written in Kiev at the very peak of the lengthy all-Russian fight against the joint forces of the entire Polovtsy "Polya."

The Rus opposition to the Polovtsy resumed in 1168 with a campaign by the united Russian princes, from Pinsk to the sources of the Prityat and from Kursk to the upper reaches of the Seym. Further joint efforts were required in 1184 and, heading the troops of 11 other princes, Svyatoslav of Kiev won a brilliant victory at the Dnepr Porogi, capturing Khan Kobyak and 17 other khans. The poet enthusiastically sang of this victory, describing Svyatoslav as "terrible and great," and deserving of the praise of the peoples of half of Europe. "Germans and Venedians (Venetians--author), Greeks and Moravians are singing the glory of Svyatoslav...."

Enraged by their defeat, the Polovtsy, headed by Konchak, of the Sharukanid dynasty, threw their forces at Rus in February 1185, in an effort to "capture...the cities of Rus and burn them...." Svyatoslav repelled the large Polovtsy forces; the thawing of the snow prevented any pursuit. Konchak took his forces to the steppe. Svyatoslav planned a large all-Russian campaign in the steppe for the summer of 1185 but Igor, secretly from all, launched a separate campaign at the very moment when the Russian forces were being mobilized. The "princes' refusal to help" Svyatoslav at that time was manifested by the fact that the Chernigov-Seversk Olgovichs declined to participate in the two joint campaigns of the 1184 and 1185. It was then that Igor arbitrarily withdrew from the defense alliance, lost his entire forces and opened the "gate to Polya." The Polovtsy not only threw themselves at the now-helpless Igor's Seversk principality, but also, led by Konchak, moved into the heart of Russia, to Kiev, and occupied the left bank of the Dnepr. The situation became dangerous: the capital of this left bank Pereyaslavl principality was besieged by the Polovtsy; Konchak's rear and right flank were free and he rushed toward Kiev, from which no more than one or two cavalry marches separated him.

It was at this point that the alarm was sounded by the poet-patriot, who excoriated the princes for their "quarrels" and called for "closing the Pole gates." The author's broad call addressed to the various Russian princes, from Galich to Smolensk, was not groundless or naive-idealistic. He enumerated almost all of the actual participants in the recent victorious campaign of July 1184.

The poem ends not with Igor's return to his homeland, liberated by Svyatoslav, but with his departure from Kiev after receiving help from the Russian princes. It is this unity that pleases the poet: "The city is glad for the sake of the country!" However, once again Konchak was not defeated. He was merely repelled from Rus and, having captured prisoners, the Polovtsy "went to their land." The threat remained.

We should not forget Marx's words, which are fully consistent with the entire set of sources on 12th century life in Rus; he described the great poem as "an appeal to the Russian princes for unity precisely before the invasion of the Mongolian hordes" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 29, p 16).

S. Averintsev, doctor of philosophical sciences: ANCIENT LESSON IN HUMANENESS

A campaign which ended in failure was launched exactly 8 centuries ago; it so happens that the remembrance of it has become a precious possession of Russian culture.

All of us learned at school the bitter price Novgorod-Seversk Prince Igor Svyatoslavich had to pay for his unwillingness to share the glory of victory with the other princes. There were neither victories nor glory. The soldiers lay in vain along the bank of the Kayala, about which, to this day, we do not know what kind of river this was, but the very name of which sounds mysterious and threatening to us, like an ancient curse. The prince saw what it meant to be a prisoner and although he was able to escape, this too was not a simple matter, for he abandoned to fate his troops and comrades in misfortune. The Ipatiev Chronicle describes the way he initially refused to escape: "...I do not wish to go infamously." He had thought so much about glory but had no choice other than "infamy." Historians tell us how typical of the age was the conflict between the personal pride of the feudal lord, who led his own troops and mounted his own campaigns, and the duty of the military commander, the statesman, to his native land. Philologists add that a similar conflict may be found in the various works of the Middle Ages, such as the poem of Brihtnoth, duke of Essex, and hero of the Maldon Battle, who, by refusing to talk with the Vikings and as a result of an inept demonstration of annoying generosity in waging war, doomed his unit and brought calamity on his people. All of this is not astounding. What is astounding is something else, the fact that 8 centuries later we are commemorating the year 1185 as one of the great landmarks in our historical legend. There was glory but of a nature entirely different from the one of which the prince dreamed, not the type of glory he wanted for himself but the one which belonged to the entire cultural and living tradition which was preserved by ever new generations. The experience of the defeat of Prince Igor was so thoroughly reworked and interpreted by the creative conscience of Russian literature that this became related to the most important matter of Russia appearing as a spiritual phenomenon.

Here is what that same Ipatiev Chronicle tells us of the circumstances under which Igor was captured. The prince is in the hands of his enemies. What is he thinking about: is he thinking about himself and his humiliated pride? No, he is thinking of Vsevolod, his brother, whom he sees in the thick of battle "fiercely fighting." He is seized not by the rage of a brave predator

who has been captured, but with compassion and concern for someone else. What kind of thoughts does his captivity generate? He recalls with a feeling of guilt the sorrow he himself caused to others, when he allowed the city of Gleb to be plundered during the internecine war. Although it may be that during periods of intestine strife this was done by virtually everyone else and that, quite likely, Igor's action may have been merely a response to similar actions committed by Vladimir Pereyaslavskiy. All of this is consistent with feudal ethics. But no, the hero's trouble awakens in him a feeling for the difficulties of others and toward his own guilt. This is an outstanding feature hardly found anywhere else in any of the literatures of the times. We may rightfully consider this a feature of the Russian character. Whereas a knight of a different country may have tried to compensate for his failure by wrapping himself up in his pride, Prince Igor is not afraid to feel guilty. He allows his suffering to reach his conscience and his pity. (Here is a contrast: During the 18 months he spent in captivity, Richard the Lion-Hearted, this "mirror of chivalry," hardly thought of the calamities experienced by the innocent victims of his wars, including those he fought against his own father; in any case, the legend tells us nothing about this.)

An intimation of regret may be heard in the "Lay of the Host of Igor" unlike any other heroic epic. Naturally, great epic poetry of all times and all nations has been quite unlike what conquerors and predators would have liked it to be. Nietzsche notwithstanding, in the final account it speaks strikingly little about "acquisitions and victories," describing not successes but courage, therefore paying close attention to suffering in the face of which courage is manifested. In Homer's "Iliad," there is no mention of any victory specifically. Achilles will not live to see victory, and he is aware of this in advance.

I know all too well, myself, that fate has destined me to perish  
Here, far from father and mother....

The outcome of the war is seen not through the eyes of the future winners but through those of the future losers:

I am firmly telling you, convinced in my mind and my heart,  
That the day will come that sacred Troy will perish  
And with it so will Priam and Priam's lancers.

In the "Song of Roland," with which "Lay of the Host of Igor" has been frequently compared, what remains is not the picture of the way the barons of Charles the Great introduced "Christian" order in defeated Saragosa but something entirely different: the final, the mortal battle waged by Roland, inspired by loyalty to his honor, and his tears (in the face of his inevitable own death) for the death of his comrades-in-arms Olivier and Tourpin and the cry of Charles, the old man who yearns for rest but is forced to abandon it summoned by the call of duty. The heroic optimism of the true epic has nothing in common with thoughtless victories; this is a general concept. However, even against this background the "Lay of the Host of Igor" remains a unique phenomenon. It is as though a new depth is reached in the course of this epic "cry." The mere mention of the small Stugna River and the fact that the young Prince Rostislav Vsevolodovich, who drowned in it nearly a century

before Igor's time, and his mother's cries, things that happened long ago, after the tears had dried and the bones have rotted, draw for us an entire landscape of compassion: "The flowers wane and the trees bow to the ground...." Slightly altered, this formula has been used in describing the cry for Igor's soldiers lying along the banks of the Kayala. This repetition turns the formula into a refrain and defines the atmosphere of the entire situation, providing a special tonality harmonious with Russian folk songs and the soft rhythm of the smooth lines of ancient Russian paintings.

When we speak of the topic of pity in the "Lay of the Host of Igor," we cannot fail to recall Yaroslavna's cries, which have echoed throughout Russian poetry of the past 200 years. The unique popularity of it has, like any other kind of popularity, its dark side. How frequently has this epic lamentation of the daughter of Yaroslav Osmomysl been turned into a sensitive romance! We can justifiably object to the uncerecermoniousness of imitators who have made Yaroslavna's cries sound fashionable and sentimental in the past and harsh and sharp today. One smiles at the idea that at different times there have been readers to whom virtually the entire "Lay" could be reduced to Yaroslavna's cries. However, even this trick mirror reflects reality in its own way. To begin with, Yaroslavna's cry objectively holds a special place in the artistic entity. It has been prepared and justified by Igor's escape from captivity; here a variety of considerations of governmental advantages and princely rights cannot help. It is only Yaroslavna's tears which are sufficiently pure to absolve the prince's dishonor. It is very important that here love is presented not as infatuation or passion or a courteous obedience but as the compassion which a wife feels for her husband, very similar to that of a mother for her son. That is why the cry of the mother for Rostislav (which, incidentally, is characteristic of the Russian culture of feelings), especially mentioned in the "Tale of Temporal Years," sounds in the "Lay" as an echo of Yaroslavna's voice. If it becomes necessary to enumerate the superior joys of life, to which Yar Tur Vsevolod preferred battle, at the very end, i.e., at the very peak the love of his wife, the beautiful Glebovna, is mentioned as the peaceful, daily warmth of the home. Secondly, Yaroslavna's cry resembles the one expressed at different ages in Russian life. At the turn of our century, the Russian peasant woman, seeing her husband off to the army, virtually repeated the same words:

My voice will be heard  
Far away in a foreign land,  
Perhaps in a Ukrainian city.  
In the soldiers' regiment....  
Think, my dear,  
It is not the sound of the cuckoo  
But the sorrow of your young wife....

The soldier and the woman are a universal theme. The sources of European humanistic tradition may be traced to the incomparable conversation between Hector and Andromache in the Sixth Song of the "Iliad." However, the Trojan heroine, who tries to talk her husband out of going into battle (as well as subsequently, at the end of the poem, crying over his inanimate body, is actually sorry not for him but for herself and her son, as she thinks of the hardships awaiting a widow and an orphan without a defender. The "Song of

Rolland" includes a brief and harsh yet all the more expressive scene for that, in which the bride of the hero, being apprised of his death, sharply rejects any marriage with the heir to the throne and immediately falls dead, finding the very thought of life without Rolland unbearable. There is a great deal of nobility, directness and much pride in this. But where else in world poetry can we find a wife of a hero, such as Yaroslavna, who rushes to treat the bloody wounds on her husband's body, instantaneously and accurately realizing that this body is burning with fever? The seriousness and specific nature of such a manifestation of love, even in the purely poetic sense, not to mention anything else, is superior to the full splendor of the pagan personification of the forces of nature to which Yaroslavna turns for help.

When, in our own remembrance, Konstantin Simonov wrote his "Wait for Me," his verses became not a fact of Russian poetry but a fact of Russian life. Not so long ago, the simple people in our country spoke of marital love as "sorrow." The concept of the love of a woman as being the force of pity, which keeps the soldier from dying, is a necessity in our moral tradition.

"...His bloody wounds on his suffering body" are words which could be repeated again and again. Without them and without words like them, Russia would not have been Russia.

L. Dmitriyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: THE IDEOLOGICAL AND ARTISTIC POWER OF THE 'LAY'

The "Lay of the Host of Igor" ranks with the highest literary accomplishments of all times and nations. In a small text (in contemporary terms, half of a printer's sheet), we find a reflection of a great variety of human feelings: love for the native land, heroism of exploit and selfless courage of soldiers in battle, sympathy for simple people who suffer at a time of enemy invasion, profound understanding of a mother's sorrow, and feelings of compassion and love. All of this is expressed briefly, laconically, in highly poetical images: the author of the "Lay" makes wide use of metaphors, epithets and comparisons, the roots of which are deep within oral folklore. However, this is no transference of individual words, images or turns of oral folklore in a written text, but their creative, their literary processing, which gives this text a particular beauty and perfection. The "Lay of the Host of Igor" is saturated with the images of nature: numerous comparisons between human actions and those of beasts and birds, descriptions of natural phenomena, correlated to human actions and destinies, descriptions of the animal world and of all of nature, which empathizes, cautions, helps and hinders the characters in the poem, loved by the author, feeling sorry for them and yet, whenever they deserve it, condemning them and judging them, for the highest ideals of the author are the good of his native land and people.

The "Lay of the Host of Igor" is an outstanding work of the human genius also because, despite its brevity, the author has been able not only to reflect in it the very essence of the historical events of his time but also to compare these events with the history of the distant past. This profound historicism of the "Lay" is based on the fact that its author was perfectly familiar with the outstanding monument of ancient Russian history and literature--the "Tale

of Temporal Years"--and the oral legends of antiquity and the works of the Russian poet Boyan of the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th centuries.

The greatness of the "Lay" is also due to the fact that it was a sharply publicistic work, imbued with profound patriotism and thoughts and concerns for the fate of the country and people. The anonymous author of "Zadonshchina" saw in the victory over Mamay, after nearly 1.5 centuries had passed since the enslavement of Rus by the Golden Horde, the actual implementation of the call of the author of the "Lay of the Host of Igor": The combined forces of the Russian princes were able to deal a crushing defeat to the foreign aggressors.

The "Lay of the Host of Igor" came to a new and active life in the history of the culture and literature of the 19th and 20th centuries. We can say with full justification that it became a live, an inseparable part of the literary process of modern times, still drawing the attention of literary experts, linguists and historians. New studies of the "Lay" broaden our concepts concerning its linguistic features, the links between monuments and oral folklore, the secrets of its poetry and the historical realities reflected in the poem. However, the creative potential of the "Lay" is so great that, as they unravel some secrets contained within this work, the new observations, finds and discoveries also raise new problems for its students. That is why it has been so extensively studied.

The literary perfection of the "Lay of the Host of Igor" and the depth of its characters invariably attract writers, painters and composers. To this day it has been translated and is being translated in prose and in verse. A tremendous number of translations of the "Lay" have been made, some of them by poets such as V. A. Zhukovskiy, A. N. Maykov, K. D. Balmont and N. A. Zabolotskiy. That is why further translations can be successful only if the poet is able not simply to convert ancient into modern Russian, but to express most fully and delicately, precisely using contemporary poetic language, the poetic secret of this brilliant 12th century work.

We do realize that the "Lay of the Host of Igor" is a literary monument of ancient Rus. However, the ideological and artistic power of this 800-year-old work is so great that it is close to and understood by the modern readers. That is why, in celebrating the 800th anniversary of the "Lay," we are proud not only of the fact that such a perfect work of the human genius is at the source of three fraternal literatures--Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian--but also that this monument remains eternally alive and beautiful.

O. Suleymenov, poet, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet: ...A NEST OF COURAGE

The "Lay of the Host of Igor" has lived and influenced politics and culture for centuries. Those who are familiar even with part of what has been written about it at different times have, in all likelihood, been able to note a curious phenomenon: this literary monument changes in the course of time. The movement of this poem along the scale of the readers' conceptual outlook has also increased the number of foreshortenings. The "Lay" is becoming increasingly understood: we can see in it things which, in the 19th century,

for example, were not yet apparent. New facets of this amazing cultural monument and new details of its poetic mechanism come to light.

"A nest of courage slumbers in Olgovo Field...." One may read this sentence a hundred times and each time it draws attention with a somewhat puzzling harmony. And all of a sudden you understand, you can explain the uniqueness of the use of this old rich Russian epithet. On seven different occasions we come across the ordinary Slavic word "daring" and only once the folk word "courageous."

...The troops of Igor and Vsevolod are lost in a restless slumber. This is the morning of the battle, the sad outcome of which is known to the author. The linguistic image is strengthened by the emphasis of the vocal "o", which is the most minor sound in Russian speech. "O" is one of the rare phonemes which has developed its independent semantics in the language. Frequently encountered with an accent in words expressing extreme conditions or phenomena, this sound assumes a particular, a characteristic significance in the subconscious of the speaker. Is this not the reason for which the words "urodstvo" [ugliness] and "gordost" [pride], "grom" [thunder] and "zvon" [peal] and "sovest" [conscience] and "gore" [grief] are so similar? Why is it that "ogon" [fire] does not clash in our speech with "kholod" [cold] and "moroz" [frost]?

All extremes--huge, much, very long--disturb the habitual course of life, causing concern and alarm. The most unnatural concepts acquire a sound of their own in these closed vowels--"boy" [battle], "mor" [death], "voy" [howl], "krov" [blood], "bol" [pain], "pogost" [country churchyard], "pokoy" [rest]....

The sadness of the ringing of bells gives the impression of something tremendous, unattainable, settling in the subconscious of the speaker as an alternative to the vibrant "a"!

Concern and timidity sound as "oh!"; the joy of daring is expressed as "ah!" or else, as Marina Tsvetayeva said, "'oh' is when it is hard and 'ah' when it is wonderful."

Perimeter defense and a fierce attack are the differences in the characters of all these vowels in poetic speech: "For the sake of the country, bring gaiety." These vivid lines in the "Lay" are the predecessors of the contemporary "fierce, Russian, Red shirts" (A. Voznesenskiy).

...In the Russian linguistic spectrum the sound "o" was unquestionably distinguished by its cold tonality. The poet of the middle ages heard and used this discovery. For the sake of the integrity of the picture--written and oral--he violates spelling standards, involving folk speech in the written language. The quadruply accented "o" in a poetic phrase gives the picture a dimension and a sad, a slowed-down rhythm, closing the circle of the composition of the event, which opens with the words: "The night fades slowly...."



The outcome of the battle is already predicted in the sad "o". This deliberate use of a musical subtext is extremely infrequent in medieval poetry. Nor is it all too frequent in modern poetry. Our alliterations do not exceed the limits of onomatopoeia.

My book "Az i Ya", some of which discusses the history of the interpretation of the "Lay" by specialists, came out 10 years ago. This work drew sharp and at times justifiable criticism. Some people drew the attention, among others, to the fact that the poet-researcher had ignored the original poetry of the monument. Indeed, I had not included this topic in any one of my articles yet it was precisely the characteristics of the poetry that was a strong argument in favor of proving the originality of the "Lay of the Host of Igor." In my encounters with the readers, in describing the literary mastery of this medieval poet, I emphasized the thought that a translation based on contemporary linguistic standards occasionally destroys the poetic image and an irreplaceable damage is inflicted on the monument. In all of our current translations we read that "the brave nest is slumbering in Olegovo Field." Only two of the four accented "o"s remain and even they are separated. The sound metaphor is disturbed and the poetic phrase has become prose. If the tone subtext was not important to the author of the "Lay of the Host of Igor," he could have himself used, for the eighth time, the word "brave," without waiting to be corrected.

I believe that some segments of the "Lay" should be left untouched both in academic and poetic translations, for it is perhaps these lines that shape the element of the great poetic system which must be taken into consideration in structuring contemporary and future models of world literary standards.

...To this day arguments are continuing on the personality of the anonymous author of the "Lay." Those who questioned the originality of this monument looked for a forgery by people engaged in literature and history in the 18th century and even named specific names. However, as Pushkin noted in his time, 18th century Russia had no literary workers with such a great talent as the one found in the "Lay." The example I have considered is merely one more confirmation of the accuracy of Pushkin's statement that such a deliberate use of a tonal subtext was impossible not only in Russian writings but in all of 18th century European literature. In any case, examples of such a perfection of poetic expression are not found in the writings of that period.

A. Robinson, doctor of philological sciences: 'LAY OF THE HOST OF IGOR' AND WORLD MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

The "Lay of the Host of Igor" is the national property of the Eastern Slavs--Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians. We fail to find among the many literary monuments of ancient Rus any work comparable to the splendid "Lay." We can also note that heroic poetry, epic and epic-lyrical (songs of exploits and poems) was one of the traditional and comprehensively popular types of creativity in the medieval world. In terms of ideological and poetic features, in my view, the "Lay" holds a worthy position among noted monuments of heroic Western and Oriental poetry, such as, for example, the English "Beowulf," "Edda" and the Skaldic Songs of the Scandinavians, "Cancion del Mio

Cid" of the Spaniards, the "Song of Roland" of the French, the "Song of the Nibelungen" of the Germans and Austrians, the "Narty" of many Caucasian peoples, "Knight in the Panther's Skin" of the Georgians, the songs of David Sasun of the Armenians, the songs of Dzhangar and Geser of the Kalmyks and the Central Asian peoples, the "Haiku-Monogatari" of the Japanese, and others.

Essentially, these heroic epics were patriotic. The poets of different peoples praised their heroes. The concepts and dreams of the poets of the fatherland and its destinies became particularly sharp at a time when the early feudal empires legitimately broke down into autonomous kingdoms or principalities. Thus, in the "Song of Roland" (11th century) an insignificant military event (in the year 778) in the campaigns of Charles the Great assumed a hyperbolic poetical interpretation at a time when the empire of the Franks no longer existed. The French poet sang of the fatherland, idealizing its already disturbed unity. He exclaimed: "Oh, France, dear fatherland!" and "No, France, will not lose here its glory!" The author of "Cancion del Mio Cid" (circa 1140) was equally concerned with the fate of all of Spain and depicted his hero as its firm defender, although this was far from being the case. Similar lofty ideals were inherent in a number of heroic poems. However, more profoundly than other poets the author of the "Lay of the Host of Igor" captured the essence of princely separatism, obviously above all because he depicted contemporary events. He condemned the policy of the princes with amazing accuracy: "And so did a brother tell a brother: 'This is mine and this is mine too.' And the princes began to say 'This is great!...' Under medieval conditions, the poet was able to voice such lofty ideas and to create the type of splendid characters which assumed a truly eternal significance.

Naturally, the ideals of the medieval poets cannot be directly identified with the publicism of modern times. Medieval heroic poetry was profoundly symbolic, saturated with the fantasy typical of the age. That is precisely why the "Lay," like the other masterpieces of the Middle Ages, has not lost its charm. Allow me to note briefly one of the possible lines in the study of the "Lay" in terms of the heroic poetry of the Middle Ages.

The main symbols of this poetry can be largely traced to most ancient mythological concepts of animistic nature and its interaction with people. In accordance with these concepts, gold, in particular, originated from the worship of the sun and, consequently, could itself burn and radiate light. In the Icelandic "Young Edda" we read that "When the gods settled, Egir (a sea giant--author) ordered that...brilliant gold be brought and it shed light like fire during the feast." According to the ancients, occasionally the sun (during eclipses) was "eaten up" by the magic wolf or dragon. Since early times the alternation of "light" and "darkness" assumed the moral significance of the struggle between "good" and "evil." A set of symbols developed: "Sun," "gold," "fire," "light," and "darkness." These symbols shifted from polytheistic (pagan) to monotheistic beliefs.

In most ancient times, the sun was deified and nature was considered animate. The symbolism of gold was quite extensive: mansions ("celestial" and earthly), utensils, furniture, clothing, weapons, the horses of the heroes, some plants and the entire universe, mother earth, the polar star, and others

were considered "golden." Such traditional concepts were retained in "Beowulf," "Edda," "Narty" and other archaic epics of Europe and in subsequent Asian epics, quite durable in their form ("Geseriada," "Dzhangariada," and "Koblandy-Batyr").

The universality of the complex was lost with the development of feudalism and the monotheistic outlook. This was characteristic of the Christian epics in Europe, in which the behavior of the hero was no longer arbitrary, as it had been, but, conversely, dictated by serving God and his suzerain. All components of the complex were retained but each one of them gradually turned into a metaphor. The sun became the obedient symbol of divine providence. Gold was only a symbol of statehood (the throne, the crown; in the East, in the names of states, such as, for example, the Golden Horde), and as the ideal depiction of heroes, with their "golden" helmets, shields, stirrups and spurs (as, for example, in the "Song of Roland," "Song of the Nibelungen," etc.).

The "Lay of the Host of Igor" has an intermediary position between the epics of the West and the East and between two stages--the archaic (pagan) and the Christian. The sun is still a direct subject affecting the hero and the symbol of gold merely depicts the princely status. "Prince Igor put his foot in the golden stirrup.... The sun made darkness retreat." Yaroslavna seems to address herself directly to the forces of nature as to living "lords": "Bright and triple-bright sun, why, o Lord, did you cast your hot rays on the soldiers of my beloved?" In the "Song of Roland" the same symbol operates differently. Emperor Charles needed a longer "clear day" to complete his victory over the "Saracens." However, he was unable to appeal directly to the sun. It was only as a result of his prayer that "God made a miracle" and the sun stopped.

Usually, the heroes are depicted as bearers of "light" and their enemies are the bearers of "darkness." In "Narty" the hero Badynoko is a "ray of sun"; the Kazakh Koblandy-Batyr is "radiant"; in the "Song of Roland" "Charles is proud and shining." In "Lay" Igor is "brighter than bright." However, standing against Igor is a "black crow, a rascal Polovets." In reality, Khan Konchak resumed his alliance with the captured Igor and gave his daughter in marriage to Vladimir Igorevich. However, heroic poetry demanded not compromises but contrasts. According to the poet, the Polovtsy were "the devil's children." It is no accident that Igor's troops had to make their way to them across "swamps and filthy places," although the southern steppes made a circuitous maneuver possible. Three hundred years before Igor's campaign and roughly 1,000 kilometers to the southwest, the "shining" Beowulf defeated Grendel, who was a "dark spirit" and lived in a "dark swamp." Three hundred years after Igor and several thousand kilometers to the southeast, Khan Geser, the bearer of "light" (like Igor he was the "grandson" of a solar god) defeated Sherem-Minat, who was a "black devil" and lived in a "black swamp." When the Polovtsy defeated Igor "darkness covered light on the Kayala River."

Like any monument of a nation, the "Lay of the Host of Igor" has its specific features. To a certain extent, they are related to the author's reliance on ancient Russian folk poetry. Let me give one example. Prince Izyaslav (the brother-in-law of Svyatoslav of Kiev did not participate in Igor's campaign), dying "on blood-stained grass" "strung his pearly soul through a golden

necklace." The symbol of gold is masterly linked here with the folk symbol of sadness and tears--the pearl. Unlike this, in the "Song of Rolland" the death of the hero is depicted in the spirit of a Christian-knight ritual: "He raised his glove to the sky and it was accepted by Archangel Gabriel."

These symbols seem to come alive in the "Lay" saturating its text to a far greater extent than in other epics. The main symbol--the "sun"--is mentioned seven times in the poem (the name of Boyan Veshchiy is also mentioned seven times), for the figure 7 was considered magical by all nations (as is typical in other epics). The author himself says that "in the 7th century Vseslav challenged Troyan...." That is the reason for which the "Lay" is enclosed within a symbolic-compositional framework: initially, the sun "made darkness retreat" on Igor's way. At the end, when everything ended well, "the sun was shining in the sky and Igor was prince in the Russian land." These phenomenal events have an actual explanation. At the time of Igor's campaign a solar eclipse occurred (1 May 1185), which was universally accepted as an evil "omen" (according to the chronicles, Igor's noblemen "bowed their heads" "fearing the divine omen"). In Igor's family, in a number of cases his predecessors had died in chronological times close to solar eclipses. Thus, his grandfather Oleg Svyatoslavich died in the year 1115, on the 10th day after the eclipse. When his relative the Grand Duke Svyatopolk (mentioned in the "Lay"), died on the 29th day after an eclipse in 1113, the chronicler said that "the omen in the sun portended Svyatopolk's death." These real coincidences and their medieval interpretation explain the solar symbolism in the "Lay" and confirm the personal closeness of the poet to his characters and largely determine the characteristics of his style against the overall background of the heroic epic.

The heroic poetry of the Middle Ages, including the "Lay of the Host of Igor" and other masterpieces belong to both national and human culture. The authors of these masterpieces were able largely to rise spiritually above their time and environment and to create characters of permanent significance.

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CSO: 1802/16

## ARTISTIC CHRONICLE OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85) pp 60-69

[Article by Ye. Zaytsev]

[Text] The artistic chronicle of the Great Patriotic War began from the very first days of the attack mounted by Hitlerite Germany on our country. The Kukryniksy poster "Let Us Mercilessly Defeat and Destroy the Enemy!" which expressed the courage, will and faith of the Soviet people in victory, came out as early as 25 June 1941. It has entered the history of our people's spiritual life as a symbol of firm confidence in the triumph of the just cause. At the same time, the poster was a call to the men of the arts to dedicate all their efforts, skill and talent in the struggle against the fascist aggressors. The graphic artists were the first to respond. They went to the battle lines bringing their entire experience. The masters of this mass and operative type of creative work were actively supported by painters, sculptors and monument makers. From the pages of newspapers and journals, and the Window Posters of TASS, they spoke out in their fiery language of patriots, mercilessly striking the fascist filth with their satirical writings, instilling in the hearts of the fighters and working people in the rear a feeling of hatred for the Hitlerites and confidence in victory.

The loftiness, tonality and reputation of the art of the poster and satire in wartimes were ensured by the creative unity of thought of outstanding painters such as V. Deni, Kukryniksy (M. Kupriyanov, P. Krylov and N. Sokolov), M. Cheremnykh, P. Sokolov-Skalya, V. Lebedev, P. Shukhmin, B. Yefimov, V. Serov, V. Goryayev, V. Kostin, D. Shmarinov, I. Toidze, N. Zhukov, V. Ivanov, A. Kokorekin and B. Prorokov and the brilliant poets D. Bednyy, S. Marshak, N. Tikhonov, S. Mikhalkov, V. Gusev, A. Tvardovskiy S. Shchipachev, A. Zharov, S. Kirsanov, V. Lebedev-Kumach and many, many others. All of this gave the art of the poster a topical, informative saturation, an impressive inventiveness, a sharp brevity and a unity of content and form.

However, during the very first years of the war painters and sculptors began to recreate the typical features of the fighting nation. Initially, they were few in number, for works of sculpture demand time. The concepts of most of the works which appeared in the first postwar five-year plan, were conceived, took shape and began to appear in the fiery period of 1941-1945.

Actually, what a tremendous emotional charge is found in works which appeared during those harsh years! They encompassed within themselves the pain which the people felt for the native soil ruined by the Hitlerites, bitter hatred of the enemy and inflexible resolve to defend their freedom and their beloved fatherland and to cleanse it from the fascist monsters. It is as though they concentrated the will of the people to win.

As early as 1942 powerful canvases such "Parade on Red Square in Moscow on 7 November 1941" by K. Yuon, the "Defense of Sevastopol" by A. Deyneki and "A Fascist Flew Over" by A. Plastov and the graphic series "We Shall Not Forget or Forgive!" by D. Shmarinov, "Leningrad in Days of War and Blockade" by A. Pakhomov (1941-1945), and "Stalingrad" by Ye. Kibrik (1943) were created. In the harsh year of 1942 V. Mukhina created the significant sculptured portraits of Colonels B. A. Yusupov and I. L. Khizhnyak; M. Manizer created the composition "Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya," revealing with unique power the heroic features of the Soviet people. In 1942-1943 P. Korin worked on the monument triptych "Aleksandr Nevskiy," which praised the greatness of the spirit of the Russian people. What inflexible moral strength is found in the character of an elderly peasant woman in the painting "Mother of a Partisan" by S. Gerasimov (1943). What deep pain for the suffering of peaceful Soviet people, and what deep faith in their firmness and courage fill the paintings "Harvest" by A. Plastov (1945), "At Bolshaya Zemlya" by Ya. Nikolayev (1945) and "After Expelling the Fascist Occupation Forces" by T. Gaponenko (1943-1946). Nature, illuminated by the sun, seems to celebrate, together with the people, the long-awaited news from the battlefield. Such is the main content of the painting "Letter From the Front" by A. Laktionov (1947). With the full sharpness of their talent, scourging hated fascism, Kukryniksy painted "Flight of the Fascists From Novgorod" (1944-1946) and "The End" (1947-1948), bitterly mocking the pseudoconquerors who had suffered total collapse on Soviet soil. The sad end of the Hitlerite aggressors is very instructive to anyone who may consider making an attempt on our homeland.

The list could be extended but even these examples, in our view, suffice to prove how actively the painters worked at that time and how comprehensive and artistically convincing was the topic of the heroism of the people who had risen to the struggle, as presented in the paintings, while the fierce storm was still raging over the country.

We can clearly see in the best works of the war the features of the times and the thoughts, feelings, lofty morality and ideas of the Soviet people, which determined the course and outcome of events. They concentrate the summed-up experience of the difficult and uniquely heroic years, which became a historic landmark in the destinies not only of our country or the countries liberated by the Soviet army, which took the path of socialist change, but of all mankind.

During the war daily military life was extensively represented in paintings. In visiting units, formations, navy ships and the partisan rear, the painters constantly made sketches from nature. The unquestionable significance of these works rests in their truly documentary nature and utter veracity. Adding to this a certain degree of artistry (based on the size of the talent)

one can easily imagine the ideological and aesthetic impact of such graphic reports drawn up in wartime. It is in these sheets of paper, like the bricks of a building, that the documentary-artistic chronicle of the Great Patriotic War developed. And although the artistic qualities of some of them may be quite modest, what matters is that this artistic reportage has always been and will remain a necessary stage in the graphic study of reality, and a document of permanent value.

It is no accident that many sketches drawn by painters from nature in a trench, a dugout, an artillery battery, a headquarters dugout, a medical battalion, on the march or at a halt, during breathing spells between battles, in places just liberated from the fascists and in concentration camps, developed into entire series and cycles, as though becoming a base for large graphic or canvas compositions.

As we look at wartime drawings, we can see the occasional haste of the artist who tried to capture the general situation, without working on details. Such was the harsh objective reality which had to be taken into consideration. Our art students are as yet to analyze with scientific scrupulousness and thorough objectivity and sum up and systematize the comprehensive and inexhaustible world of frontline sketches. This must be done without delay.

Many works by artists of different generations and representatives of all varieties of the graphic arts appeared after the war. Although each separate one has its creative style and way of execution, they are related by their sincere aspiration to pay grateful homage to the heroism, courage and dedication of the Soviet troops, valorous partisans and working people in the rear, who withstood the pressure and defeated a strong enemy armed to the teeth. Many of them recorded with great artistic power military commanders and party and state leaders who headed the struggle, blending front with rear. The graphic works show the leading, inspiring and organizing role of the communist party, which rallied all the peoples of the land of the soviets and all strata of socialist society within a single, powerful and invincible combat union.

The progress of Soviet multinational art in the postwar decades was defined by the true masters in whose works the events of the Great Patriotic War gained reliable, comprehensive and artistic persuasiveness. Such are, for example, "Respite After the Battle" by Yu. Neprintsev (1951), "Parting" by Yu. Kugach (1969), "Leningrad Woman" by B. Ugarov (1961), "Victory" (1948) and "At the Kursk Salient" (1949) by P. Krivonogov, "In the Difficult Years" by A. and S. Tkachev (1957), "Mother" by B. Nemenskiy (1945), "Partisan Madonna" by M. Savitskiy (1967), "Partisans in the Kurzemskoye Ditch" by E. Iltner (1958), "Liberators" by S. Safaryan (1960), "Nameless Heights" by T. Yablonskaya (1969), "Heroes" by E. Okas (1975), "Partisan Women" by V. Chekanyuk (1975) and a number of other works. All of them are different in terms of style but common in terms of the profound personal interpretation of the events of wartime, which triggers serious thoughts on the lofty moral qualities of man and the value of human life, the main purpose of which is to preserve peace on earth for the sake of creation and toil for the good of the people.

There are masters whose creativity strikes with the power of the fiery and courageous perception of life they express. The characters they create become part of our spiritual world as a bright phenomenon of real history and remain with us for the rest of our life. Such are B. Prorokov's graphic series. They are so individual, unusual and expressive, they have reached such a high level of philosophical-aesthetic summation that they may be perceived as the poetic expression of the "lyricism of a great soul" (G. Plekhanov). Ten monumental drawings entitled "This Must Not Be Repeated" (1959) and the series "To My Son" (1965-1967) are a cluster of impressions and experiences of a great master, a monument to all those who did not come back from the war. With a staggering and captivating force, they manifest the amazing skill of the author, his plastic power, clear originality of composition and emotional-psychological expressiveness in the interpretation of artistic characters. Drawings from the series "To My Son" as well as, actually, everything else created by B. Prorokov, have and always will find an emotional response in the hearts of the people, helping them better to understand the heroic accomplishments of the Soviet people for the sake of peace on earth.

The dramatic and tragic moments related to the war events and spiritual upheaval have been manifested differently in the arts in postwar times.

In the canvases "In 1941. After the Battle" (1957) and "For the Native Land" (1959) by V. Gavrilov, we cannot fail to be touched by the profound psychological images of those who were the first to experience the strike of the fascist army. This is also the topic of "Parting" (1975), a painting by A. Mylnikov. The painting "Mothers, Sisters" (1967) by Ye. Moiseyenko is filled with deep drama. The painting "Victory" (1970-1972) by the same painter is distinguished by its high artistic qualities, refined mastery and broad concept. Characteristic of Moiseyenko's creative style is his brevity. A few simple details and an original dynamic composition and an intense color brevity make the viewer empathize and think and provide scope for his imagination in the interpretation of the topic.

Naturally, it would be impossible within a single article not only to describe but even to list the names of all painters who have made a considerable contribution to the military-patriotic topic. For that reason, I would like to discuss in greater detail the work of one of them--Geliy Korzhev.

One of the noteworthy characteristics of paintings created between the end of the 1950s and the 1960s was the desire to create monumental, dramatically stressed heroic-romantic canvases. This made major philosophical-artistic summations possible and gave the paintings dealing with triumphant, happy or dramatic events a polyphonal tonality. Many painters made extensive use of the composition method, described as the broad scape. This can yield major artistic results providing that it is not developed for its own sake but is merely one of the components of the plastic language with the help of which the master can intensify the expressiveness of his work and deepen the psychological characteristics of his subjects.

Korzhev's triptych "Communists," based on the skillful use of this method, is widely known. By looking at this painter's entire career, we can claim with



full justification that the broad view expressed in his canvases enables him to create true miracles.

His cycle "Burned by the Flames of War" (1962-1967) includes the paintings "Sendoff," "Shelter," "The Traces of War," "Mother" and "Old Wounds." Each one of them is a meaningful, strong and compositionally original work, which provides a complete and deeply impressive artistic image. Put together, they represent an epic panoramic view of the people's life, struggle, suffering, accomplishments and feelings. That is why the cycle "Burned in the Flames of War" is unusually attractive. A large number of people always gather around such works by Korzhev whenever exhibited--veterans, elderly women, middle-aged people who did not experience the war and the very young. All of them are quiet, thinking and experiencing. We ask ourselves the question: what is the secret of this success which every painter would wish to have? Obviously, no simple and comprehensive answer to this difficult problem exists. Nevertheless, some essential, some determining components of success can be expressed. The paintings in this cycle, as a matter of fact, like most of Korzhev's works, are striking for their power, the deep psychological motivation of the topic, overall harmony and proper composition and plastic solutions. With all of this, they are filled with the type of human emotions and pain and moral charge which unwittingly attracts, making us stop, plunge into their content and find ourselves alone with our conscience. Such is also his latest painting "Clouds 1945" (1980-1985). The power of G. Korzhev's paintings is found in the organic unity of design, color and light, multiplied by the depth of the author's thinking.

I believe that the powerful attraction of the artistic characters created by this master is due, above all, to the fact that they visibly embody many of the typical features of the Russian Soviet character. Further, his paintings recreate the aesthetic ideal of the people. Look at the soldier being sent off to the front by a young woman or bride, the soldier who is a war invalid and the soldier bothered by old wounds. Despite their external dissimilarity, one feels a single striking power of the spirit, moral firmness, lofty patriotism, ability to rise above individual misfortunes, calm confidence, firmness and, at the same time, responsiveness, gentleness and lack of malice. These are features developed by the socialist way of life. Yet the amazing love for peace and harmony is an ancient feature of the Russian character. The ability to stand up for oneself and one's people and socialist homeland is another feature of the national character.

The face and hands of the old mother are striking; the look of the young woman who is sending off her beloved to the front is indescribable. Here these characters are linked with an inner concern, the ability to assume all burdens for the sake of freedom, well-being and peace, with their broad feelings, deep warmth, openness and vulnerability.

The secret of the success enjoyed by Korzhev's works is the ability to paint with conviction, passion and irrepressible strength about things which excite the people of different generations and with different levels of ideological training or aesthetic development. It is the ability to set oneself and, on the basis of profound realistic traditions, innovatively to resolve complex and large problems, which are truly contemporary. His canvases organically

blend present reality and the view of the author on the future. That is why his characters assume their shape, "cleanse" their conscience, and test their stock of spiritual forces in the flames of revolutionary battles, with a rifle on their shoulder in the battlefield, with a brush at the easel behind the front, heeding during sleepless nights the old itching wounds or calmly and courageously accepting the blows of fate, heroically fighting for peace on earth. Korzhev's talent is daring, bold and unique. Among the many realities in life he is drawn to the pitting of two opposites--the lofty moral principles of the individual and his basest manifestations, in which ideological and moral foundations crumble and everything humane perishes in man. By his own nature, the artist is a good person. Among the people, he is drawn to the same features, in which sense his work could be compared to the searching of a geologist who spends his life looking for valuable minerals.

I realize that any comparison among works of art is always, to a certain extent, arbitrary, the more so when it is a question of works of different genres and types of art. Nevertheless, from within, somewhere in my subconscious, I make comparisons among the works of the brilliant Shostakovich --his 7th (Leningrad) Symphony--and Korzhev's cycle "Burned by the Flames of War." Shostakovich's composition and Korzhev's canvases cannot be classified among those to which the listener or viewer can and will turn if not daily at least quite frequently. However, their staggering force lies in the fact (which, in my view, makes them very close to each other) that anyone who has heard the 7th Symphony even once or has seen the series of canvases "Burned by the Flames of War" only once and, naturally, has understood and profoundly felt their emotional structure, will remember them for the rest of his life with his spiritual, auditory and visual memory. Works of music and paintings identically cleanse the soul; they bind, shape and assert in man, using some invisible strings, sacred concepts such as love of freedom, patriotism, hatred of the enemy and love of fatherland.

As we look at Korzhev's paintings and listen to Shostakovich's heroic-dramatic music, we experience profoundly and personally the images created by the authors of such outstanding works. They are my older brother, father and grandfather who went to war, sent off by my sister, my mother and my beloved. Once again, they are those close to me who have come home wounded yet alive, which is a bitter happiness. These are my mother, with her tired hands, assuming on her woman's shoulders not only women's but men's burdens as well, urged by her conscience. These are my parents, my relatives and my friends or simply known and unknown Soviet people who died from artillery shells and bombs or in concentration camps, who courageously faced death, even when they, and the elderly, women and children were used by the fascist monsters as "living shields." The years will pass and the veterans will get old. However, the wounds in the human heart will not scar. That is why so frequently, during the night, they again and again let us know of their existence....

We have discussed in such great detail G. Korzhev's works to prove, with a specific example, the depth which can be reached by a master inspired by lofty moral and civic ideals, a master who has mastered to perfection all means of artistic expression, who thinks, who searches and who experiments within the method of socialist realism.

The postwar decades became a time for serious creative thoughts by the sculptors as well on how properly to reflect events in the Great Patriotic War.

The creative problems which they resolved in the postwar period were superior in terms of scale, extent of difficulty and scope, to what was taking place in the other areas of the graphic arts. It was necessary to create sculptures and monuments of unparalleled scale and power of ideological and figurative expression, works which, in terms of their artistic significance, would be commensurate with the greatness of the exploit accomplished by the Soviet people during the war and yet would be close to everyone and be accepted by subsequent generations with great emotional resonance.

Naturally, the solution of such vast, difficult and responsible problems demanded a concentration of the efforts of the best artistic forces, the search of new means of expression and the development of summed-up artistic symbols.

In the first postwar years, many sculptors undertook to create a gallery of heroes of the Great Patriotic War--from soldiers and officers to generals and marshals--with tremendous enthusiasm. Their works were filled with passion. A feature of sculptures created at that time was the vivid manifestation of the will power, strength and courage of the Soviet people.

The portraits in sculpture by N. Tomskiy are distinguished by the depth of penetration into human characters illumined by the light of victory.

His portraits of M. G. Gareyev (1945), A. S. Smirnov (1948), P. A. Pokryshev (1948) and I. N. Kozhedub (1948) created a great deal of interest in the first postwar exhibits. They were followed by the portraits of Admiral N. A. Kuznetsov (1955), Seamen V. Saukov (1957) and I. Kozlov (1957), Admiral S. G. Korshkov (1963-1964) and Marshal of the Soviet Union A. A. Grechko (1975). N. Tomskiy enthusiastically worked on the bust of the famous military leader in the Great Patriotic War I. D. Chernyakhovskiy. In 1947 he sculpted his bust in white marble and, in 1950, completed in granite and bronze the great monument to Twice Hero of the Soviet Union I. D. Chernyakhovskiy in Vilnius. We see the inspired image of one of the youngest and most talented Soviet military commanders, who died in his combat post at the end of the war. The author did not simply give us a portrait similarity. He focused his attention on the inner spirituality of the character, with his inordinate intelligence, inflexible will power and human charm.

N. Tomskiy has contributed a number of outstanding pages in the monumental chronicles of the war with his creative works. His sources rest on the high classical traditions of domestic realistic plastic art, which have translated into the language of contemporary sculpture harmony and a loftiness, giving a clear definition to every detail and a compositional completeness to the work as a whole. In his works individual expressiveness organically grows into the typical features of contemporary characters and the pathos of the Great Victory is revealed with great artistic power.

The monument-ensemble in Berlin, dedicated to the Soviet soldiers who fell in the battle against fascism, should be considered one of the first major, complex and expressive works of monumental sculpture in the postwar years. It was created by a group of sculptors headed by Ye. Vuchetich, architect Ya. Belopolskiy and painter A. Gorpenko (1946-1949).

In this monument the authors have organically blended plastic and architectural features with the characteristics of a park layout. The strictness and simplicity of the spatial composition emphasize the monumental nature of its components. The grandiose figure of the mother-homeland stands at the entrance of the memorial, sculpted from grey granite and standing on a red polished granite pedestal. Noteworthy are the bronze-cast figures of soldiers on their knees, frozen in their oath by the Red battle flags in front of the common graves of Soviet soldiers who defeated fascism.

Ye. Vuchetich has solved the problem of the main figure in the memorial complex--the Soviet soldier-liberator--originally, boldly and plastically convincingly. This character symbolizes the humane mission of the Soviet army and its invincible power and might. Rising above the green mound, firmly standing on a massive white stone pedestal, the figure of the Soviet soldier crowns the memorial as a whole, organically combining all of its sculptural and architectural parts within a single ensemble, giving them completeness and irresistible power. In the figure of the soldier-liberator the author has been able to perpetuate the image of the Soviet soldier whose courage, nobility and deep humaneness amazed the entire world.

The memorial complex titled "Heroes of the Battle of Stalingrad" (1960-1967) is one of the most grandiose in terms of scale and power of artistic expressiveness. The group of authors was headed by Ye. Vuchetich and included sculptors M. Aleshchenko, L. Maystrenko, V. Matrosov, A. Melnik, V. Morgunov, A. Novikov and A. Tyurenkov and architects Ya. Belopolskiy, V. Demin and F. Lysov.

The powerful talent of Ye. Vuchetich, whose image-plastic language has always been distinguished by a philosophical saturation, amazing originality and scope of compositional solutions, was displayed in full in drafting and building the complex.

The monument to legendary General D. M. Karbyshev was of basic significance in the development of the skill of another talented sculptor, V. Tsigal, and the development of his own creative style. In drafting the project and building the monument, the sculptor went beyond the framework of the individual portrait, embodying in the image of the hero the best features of the Soviet people courageously struggling against the Nazis in the horrible and inhuman conditions of a concentration camp.

A human savior stands frozen in a monolithic white marble block like a coat of mail. We see the outline of legs and arms crossed on a human chest. The brave man, the hero, the patriot is facing death with his head raised high. The contrast transitions from the coarse rough surface of the stone and the soft and fine form of the human body, the organic combination of large plastic

masses and precise details result in a work of tremendous emotional power and ineradicable impression.

V. Tsigal has stubbornly sought new compositional and plastic solutions. He has tried to avoid the usual, the conventional. Not everything in such efforts has been successful and of equal value. One could dispute the legitimacy of one or another figure-plastic method. What is entirely obvious, however, is the fruitfulness of the tireless search undertaken by the sculptor along the line of realistic concepts. V. Tsigal's creative practice, as actually that of many other sculptors, convincingly proves this conclusion.

The monument to the loyal son of the Soviet people, active participant in the struggle against fascism in the ranks of the Italian resistance, Hero of the Soviet Union Fedor Poletayev (1971) erected in Ryazan, the birthplace of this brave soldier-internationalist, is characterized by the monumental significance of the image, the sharpness of the psychological expression. This monument like the other works of V. Tsigal reveals the striving of the author to express the high civic mindedness, the patriotic feelings of the Soviet people by means of a faithful portrayal of distinctly individualized human characters.

Based on the design of V. Tsigal and the architects Ya. Belopolskiy, R. Kananin and V. Khavin a monument complex has been erected to "The Heroes of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945" in Novorossiysk (1980). Three compositional groupings: "The Sinking of the Squadron", "The Line of Defense" and "Malaya Zemlya" form the basis of this complex.

The memorial complex in Leningrad in honor of its heroic defenders during the years of the Great Patriotic War (1975) is also deserving of attention. Its creator M. Anikushin in cooperation with architects V. Kamenskiy and S. Speranskiy have erected on the southern boundary of the city, on Pobeda Square, a monument in which architecture, sculpture, monumental murals, music and original blockade documents organically blend, reciprocally supplementing and enriching each other.

The obelisk and the multiple-figure sculpted compositions are the first things which are revealed approaching the city. It is precisely the sculpture which determines the imagistic structure and the ideological content of this entire spatial architectural-sculptural ensemble. The authors ascribe to each character in their composition profoundly individualized portrait features. This intensifies the impression. We feel in them the unbreakable continuity of time and the fruitfulness of the best realistic traditions in domestic and world art.

The memorial hall is the organic structural component of the entire ensemble. A bullet hole in a party membership card, a pierced helmet, the minuscule 250-gram blockade bread ration.... On the central wall the names of heroes of the Soviet Union and bearers of the three classes of the Order of Glory--the defenders of Leningrad--are engraved in gold on a white marble background. To the left and the right, covering the entire wall, are two mosaic designs "1941" and "Victory," made, with great artistic power, by the young artists

S. Repin, I. Uralov and N. Fomin, under the supervision of their teacher Academician A. Mylnikov.

The monument "The Heroic Defenders of Leningrad in the Great Patriotic War" has entered the history of Soviet art as one of the outstanding manifestations of the talented sculptors, architects, painters, composers and builders, as a sign of reverence of their contemporaries and descendants for the great exploit of the Soviet people who displayed miracles of heroism, firmness and dedication in the 1940s.

Under the guidance and active participation of the outstanding Soviet sculptor A. Kibalnikov, a group of Belorussian artists created the architectural-sculptural ensemble with the "Brest Fortress" memorial complex (1968-1971). The ensemble includes a 90-meter-tall obelisk, the sculptural monument "Citadel Defender" with bas-relief compositions which display the most outstanding events in the struggle waged by the heroes of the Brest fortress: "Attack," "Party Meeting," "The Last Grenade," "Machine Gunner" and "We Shall Die But Not Abandon the Fortress." The composition "Thirst" by A. Kibalnikov is plastically daring and convincing. Without losing the concreteness and realistic nature of the event, the sculptor creates a symbolic character, a great metaphor of the loftiest moral qualities of the Soviet soldier, manifested in the very first days of the severe defensive battles which, subsequently, led our army and country to victory.

The range of creative efforts of sculptors and architects is inordinately broad.

A memorial ensemble dominated by the stern and sad figure of a mother, based on a project by G. Yokubonis and V. Gabryunas, was created in 1960 on the site of Lithuania's Pirchyupis village, which was burned to the ground by the fascists.

Not far from Riga, close to Salaspils station, a memorial ensemble stands at the site of the former concentration camp where the fascists killed more than 100,000 Soviet people. Asymmetrically located, the sculptures, of different sizes, made of rough concrete, rising from the ground, cover a huge area. The sculptures of tortured people lie on the open grassy ground: "Mother," "The Undefeated," and "The Humiliated." The culminating group of the entire ensemble, as though calling for revenge for a desecrated life, stand "Solidarity" and "The Oath." Each figure-symbol and the general composition of this sculptural-architectural and natural memorial ensemble recreate, as a whole, the powerful field of gravity forces, exciting the mind and recreating in the memory of our contemporaries pages of the suffering of martyrs, heroic resistance, struggle and hope. The authors of the memorial are sculptors L. Bukovskiy, Ya. Zarin and O. Skaraynis and architects G. Asaris, O. Zakamenny, O. Ostenberg and I. Strautmanis.

One of the most expressive among the works of monumental art in postwar years is the memorial ensemble created in Belorussia at the site of the former Khatyn village, which was burned down to the ground by the fascists, including its old people, women and children. Twenty-six obelisks made of reinforced concrete rise like stovepipes which survived the flames. In each one of them

there is a bell. The sad, alarming, invocatory sound of the bells mourns the dead Belorussians, Ukrainians, Russians and members of all nations and nationalities, mourns the Soviet land turned into ashes by the fascist barbarians and reminds the living that this must not be repeated, this must not be allowed, that war must be eliminated from the practice of relations among governments.

The composition center of the memorial complex is a bronze sculpture "The Unconquered Man." He holds in his strong arms the lifeless body of a child; the fascists killed 149 people in Khatyn, 75 of whom were children. The memorial organically includes the "Cemetery of Belorussian Villages," another 185 of which were razed. Alongside the "Cemetery" is a symbolic "Tree of Life" listing another 433 Belorussian villages which experienced the Khatyn tragedy but were reborn from the ashes through the toil of the Soviet people. The memorial is the work of architects Yu. Gradov, V. Zankovich and L. Levin and sculptor S. Selikhanov, who have included in the memorial the sad "Memory Wall" bearing the names of 66 of the biggest fascist concentration camps and sites of mass murder of Soviet citizens, as well as a white marble "Memory Wreath." The memorial ensemble is crowned by an eternal flame and three birches--symbols of the love of life.

The Khatyn memorial is an embodiment of angry protest, an accusation of fascism and undying remembrance of irreplaceable victims. Like other monuments, it plays an important role in developing in the Soviet people feelings of compassion, humanism and love for the fatherland.

The "Ukrainian State Museum of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945" memorial complex was inaugurated in 1981 on the ancient Kiev hills on the left bank of the Dnepr. In terms of its dramatic artistic-plastic complexity of concept, which inseparably links the heroic past and life today with the logic of its architectural-sculptural solution, this monument holds a special place among a number of similar works and is the latest word in the realm of art synthesis. It was created by architects Ye. Stamo, V. Yelizarov and G. Kislyy, sculptors V. Boroday, F. Sogoyan and others; branching off the initial concept by Ye. Vuchetich, the grandiose and solemn figure of the fatherland is the compositional and ideological center of the ensemble. It rises proudly and firmly over Kiev, on the Dnepr, with glistening sword and shield as symbols of dedicated firmness and eternal readiness to defend the homeland.

This entire highly patriotic artistic complex has a tremendous moral-psychological impact on the viewer, making him once again experience the unbearably hard trials of the people and the inspiring beautiful joy of the Great Victory.

A grandiose monument to victory in the great patriotic war of 1941-1945 will be inaugurated quite soon at the Poklonnaya Hill in Moscow, expressing the great gratitude of the people to the communist party, the socialist state and the Soviet army, the courageous partisans, the heroic workers in the rear, all nations and nationalities and all our compatriots and those who paid with their lives for the happiness to live and work in a free land under peaceful skies.

This architectural-sculptural ensemble, created by groups of authors (N. Tomskiy), head, Ya. Belopolskiy, L. Golubovskiy, O. Kiryukhin, A. Polyanskiy, B. Rubanenko, Yu. Chernov, Yu. Dykhovichnyy and Yu. Korolev) will include multiple-figure sculptured compositions, a museum of the Great Patriotic War and bronze reliefs depicting events for each year of the war.

The completion of this architectural-sculptural complex in Moscow, the capital of our homeland, will mark the appearance of a worthy national monument to the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945.

Postwar experience enriched the art of sculpture with new forms. Alongside popular portrait figures, compositions are frequently based on a variety of symbolic interpretations. The plastic language of sculpture has become more profound and expressive. The compositional thinking has become significantly more complex and the role of realistic and essentially generalizing compositions has increased. Sculptors are increasingly rising in their creative searches from the specific fact, phenomenon or event in the war to the artistic study of its typical circumstances and basic and determining patterns.

More actively and with a great variety of means, plasticity interacts with architecture. The correlation between the volume and space of the entire sculptural composition and the surrounding environment is being formulated and resolved in a much more novel fashion. Efforts are continuing to achieve the more organic inclusion of monumental sculpture in contemporary urban construction ensembles. Sculptors and architects are more daringly introducing in their compositions murals, frescoes, mosaics and other types of monumental art. The emotional essence of the sculptural monuments, memorials and sculptural-architectural ensembles is greatly enhanced by the use of expressive means such as music and light.

We have described merely part of the significant and truly epic artistic chronicles of the great exploit of the Soviet people.

Although 40 years have passed, the events of the Great Patriotic War continue to excite the artists of the new generations. Complex problems must be resolved by those who did not see the way the country fought against the enemy, those who did not experience the entire burdens of wartime. The main problem is how to present facts of a heroic history truthfully, historically accurately and, at the same time, artistically convincingly. Literature and the arts have created a tremendous world of wartimes characters which shape in the growing generations concepts of the heroic past of our people. All of this complicates the task of the young masters who turn to topics of the Great Patriotic War.

The reflection of life in the hot traces of events has not prevented the artists in the least, as we can see, from creating perfect works which profoundly reveal the nature and significance of these events. However, the problem of historical distance remains in art. Distance and historical experience allow the artist to rise to a different level of summation, to penetrate deeper into the problems and to evaluate the historical scale of the



facts. For example, the works by Ulyanovsk painter V. Safronov depict specific facts which he neither saw or experienced, such as rescuing the guards flag, presentation of a party card, receiving a letter from the front, or a soldier shooting at a fascist aircraft with his rifle. These are the works not of an eyewitness but of a historical painter, an artist who recreates the most characteristic facts of the people's life, type characters: the party member, the political worker, and the Soviet woman, who assumed on her shoulders the entire burden of the war and who endured.

Another problem is the creation of characters of Great Patriotic War veterans. As the years go by it is becoming increasingly urgent and, in some cases, dramatic. Only 20 or 30 years ago this topic lacked the psychological complexity of the 1980s. Time is merciless. Increasingly, the old wounds leave their mark, removing from our ranks, one after the other, those who defended the homeland: ever fewer of them remain in the combat ranks. The artist cannot fail to see, to feel the sadness of irreversible losses. That was the reason for the creation of the strikingly dramatic triptych "Every Year on 9 May in the Park of Culture" by A. Alekseyev (1980). This is the new feature introduced by time into the problems of the artistic interpretation and reflection of the events of the Great Patriotic War.

The new topics also require a new, a deeper psychological solution, a new plot development and new means of expression.

Another exceptionally important aspect of the military-patriotic topic exists: in working on topics borrowed from the history of the patriotic war, painters, young painters in particular, think of life in the modern armed forces and, conversely, addressing themselves to the characters of those who today watch over the peaceful life of our people, correlate the military service of today's soldiers and officers, tankmen and fliers, submariners and missile troops with the experience and exploits of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War.

The artistic depiction of the military-patriotic topic in its entire depth and significance is a very important long-range problem. Today we cannot complain about the number of works created on this topic. We would like the appearance of such works to become real events in the country's artistic life more frequently.

The depiction of the Great Patriotic War and the military-patriotic topic enhance the sociopolitical role of the graphic arts and their significance in the system of socialist artistic culture. They strengthen the aesthetic foundations of education and the shaping of an active life stance in the people.

The inspired interpretation of the events of the war and the variety in the life of the contemporary armed forces have a substantial influence on the artists themselves. It strengthens their exceptional maturity, increases their belief in the social need for further creative searches and substantially enhances their professional skills. Hence the need to mobilize their entire potential to ensure the profoundly truthful and imaginatively impressive development of topics, enhanced feeling of responsibility for the

content and quality of their work and awareness of their role in increasing the spiritual riches of developed socialist society.

It is important in this case for the creative searches of the artist to be always checked against the truth of life and loyalty to the socialist ideals. As practical experience indicates, success in this matter will accompany those among them who speak of the past in a serious and lofty manner, from the positions of Marxist-Leninist outlook, studying the laws and the real course of the struggle waged by the party and the people for the freedom and national independence of the land of the soviets.

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory artistic exhibits were held in all large cities in the country and in Moscow, the capital of our homeland. These were the creative reports which the masters of the graphic arts submitted to the people. They proved the deep and permanent interest of the artists in military-patriotic topics. Representatives of all union republics and masters of all age groups and followers of a great variety of stylistic and genre trends recorded through their works many new outstanding pages in the artistic chronicles of the Great Patriotic War.

The 40th anniversary of the Great Victory, M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized, "embodies the profound respect for the unparalleled exploit of the Soviet soldier, of our people and the communist party. The victory which was won is a living victory, it is both our history and our present. Each new generation, entering life, turns to its sources, for civic and political maturity is inseparable from the history of the country and its heroic pages." That is why the workers in Soviet multinational graphic art have a broad scope for ever new manifestations of individual creative initiative, high mastery and variety of creative forms, styles and genres.

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IN THE INTERESTS OF BUILDING A DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY

AU140601 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 July 85)  
pp 70-81

[Article by Karoly Nemeth, deputy general secretary of the MSZMP]

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party held its 13th Congress from 25 to 28 March 1985 in the year of the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation from fascism. The congress caused great interest within the country and attracted marked attention from the international public. In examining the work conducted over 5 years, it gave an objective evaluation of the state of affairs in the party and in society and determined the main tasks for the period ahead. The forum of communists was of a working nature and was realistic and frank. Along with the achievements, it also noted the difficulties that have to be overcome and thoroughly and creatively developed the socialist decisions needed for further forward movement.

The last 5 years, together with their achievements and cares, have become an organic part of the historical process that began at the moment of the liberation and changed the country's fate. The congress resolution on this historic anniversary states that 4 peaceful and fruitful decades have now passed since the Soviet Union, which made the greatest sacrifices of all in World War II and which bore the main burden in the struggle against fascism, gained victory together with the allied powers in the anti-Hitler coalition and liberated our country as well as other European countries from the Hitlerite occupation. A new epoch began in Hungary's history and our state once again gained its independence. Comrade Janos Kadar, the MSZMP general secretary, when presenting a supplement to the written Accountability Report of the MSZMP Central Committee emphasized: "We can, with words of sincere gratitude, respect and war memory, tell all who helped liberate the Hungarian people that the Hungarian people have been able to make use of their freedom. The workers class and our people gained power and created a socialist social system in the Hungarian People's Republic."

Advancing a clear program and mobilizing all forces in society to put it into practice, the Hungarian Communist Party laid the foundations for overcoming the devastation of the war, for restoring normal life and for restoring Hungarian statehood. Step-by-step, the worker class won victories in the struggle against big capital. The people's state nationalized the mines,

banks and plants. In 4 decades truly epoch-making changes have taken place in the country: A basis for the industrialization which has transformed the country was laid, new branches of industry have been created and on the basis of them many new towns have been built. The agrarian reform of spring 1945 liquidated feudal relations in the village. The land came to belong to those who work it, that is, to the previously landless peasants. United in cooperatives, the Hungarian peasantry made a historical spurt along the road of progress. From the agroindustrial country it was before the liberation, Hungary became an industrialized state possessing large socialist agriculture.

In our country the exploitation of man by man has been abolished and the victory of socialist production relations has been ensured. The structure of society has changed. The workers class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia are rallying ever more closely on the ground of their common interests in building a developed socialist society. Fundamental changes have been carried out in the level of knowledge and culture and in the way of life of the whole of society.

But our path has not always lain in a straight line. We have reached the present stage by overcoming failures, errors and submerged rocks.

When in 1956 everything we had achieved was placed under threat as a result of the mistakes of the sectarian-dogmatic leadership, the treachery of the revisionists and the offensive of the domestic and foreign class enemy, we defended the people's power, supported by the internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union. Recreated on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the party extracted lessons from history and, correcting the blunders and distortions, organized and mobilized all forces of society to build socialism.

Because of the profoundly reactionary, anticommunist policy of Hungarian ruling circles that was conducted for a quarter century before 1945, our country was in a state of deep international isolation. After liberation we were able to escape from this by fundamentally changing social relations, by achieving socialist national unity, and by entering into close alliance with the Soviet Union, the main force of social progress. Today the Hungarian People's Republic, thanks to its achievements in constructive work and its internal stability, which has been preserved for several decades now, has won authority for itself in the world and maintains diplomatic relations with 130 countries. As a firm link in the Warsaw Pact and the community of socialist countries, we shall continue to conduct the same foreign policy in order to ensure favorable conditions for the construction of a new society within the country and in order to make a contribution to the cause of peace all over the world. The stability of the social system, the people's trust and their support and achievements in the construction of socialism serve as the most important guarantee of the successful continuation of our foreign policy.

The Hungarian People's Republic is guided in its policy by the interests of the people and the ideas of proletarian internationalism. We are moving forward in close unity with the states of the socialist community and are making efforts for further consolidation of the cohesion of the fraternal countries. The deepening of Hungarian-Soviet friendship is especially important to us. The 40 years since liberation have proved that the most

reliable international support for independence and creative work to build socialism in our country is friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. Our paramount national interest lies in continuing the development of these ties, which are founded on the community of basic interests and goals, in all spheres of life. That is the guarantee of our flourishing and of the defense of peace, the most valuable thing for us.

Summing up the results of our work was made easier by the fact that some months before the congress the party published and submitted for discussion a most important political document, which was the Central Committee Guidelines for the 13th MSZMP Congress. Its aim--in accordance with practice that had been justified over many years--was to verify, in the light of opinions expressed by communists, nonparty people and the entire people, the objectivity of the evaluations of constructive work in the country, and also the correctness of our analysis and the plans that were developed. The opinion of mass organizations and scientific institutions was asked for and taken account of and their experience was made use of. The praise or criticism expressed in the course of the discussion of the guidelines all over the country helped the forum of communists make decisions on the next tasks in political, economic and ideological life and on such a development of the country as would be worthy of the path traveled in 4 decades, with a really substantiated sense of conviction and on the basis of profound knowledge of reality.

In discussing the guidelines, communists and nonparty people expressed their unanimous wish that the 13th Party Congress confirm the MSZMP's political line. This is a principled, Marxist-Leninist policy based on trust between the party and people. It is an internationalist and patriotic policy that creatively applies the general laws of constructing socialism and draws on the common treasurehouse of the fraternal parties' experience.

Independently and with an awareness of its responsibility, the MSZMP takes account of conditions in the country and its specific features, expresses the people's interest and serves the cause of socialism and progress. The aim of its policy is the construction of a developed socialist society through consolidation of socialist national unity in an atmosphere of sincerity, publicity and democracy.

The 13th Party Congress fulfilled its mission: It summed up the results of work in the accountability period, confirmed the party policy and determined the next tasks of constructing a developed socialist society.

One of its most important positions is expressed by the statement that we have fulfilled the basic decisions of the 12th Congress, although in the accountability period construction of the socialist society had to be continued in a more complex situation. The growing international tension, and also economic difficulties, put our society to a serious test. Unfavorable changes in world politics and economy and on the world market led to a complication of external conditions. We also said frankly that the reasons for our economic difficulties did not lie only in external factors that did not depend on us, but also in the weakness of our own work. From the point of view of domestic conditions, difficulties arose primarily because the

potential for extensive running of the economy and rapid quantitative growth had already been exhausted and it was necessary to apply ever greater efforts in accordance with the demands of intensive development, for otherwise it would be impossible to ensure that the requirements of socialist construction were satisfied. This does not apply just to the economy. There was also a need to improve work in the spheres of ideology, culture and international relations.

Under the party's leadership, our people have traversed a great road, which has brought good results. We have preserved socialist achievements: the stability of people's power, the uniting of the national under the banner of socialism and confidence in the future. With the help of a number of measures, we have strengthened and widened socialist democracy. Our entire people have raised the level of their knowledge and education and achieved new successes in the advancement of culture.

At the 12th MSZMP Congress two tasks were placed at the center of economic activity: restoration of the foreign trade balance and preservation of the achieved standard of living. The MSZMP Central Committee and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic concentrated their attention on the main processes connected with them. Fulfilling the set goals demanded more active economic-organizational work from government organs, greater effectiveness from economic organizations and an increase in discipline, independence and steadfastness from individual people.

A considerable achievement of the last 5 years was the fact that our country, which depends to such a great extent on foreign economic ties, was able to maintain its solvency even when the political atmosphere in the world worsened, the crisis in the capitalist countries continued, competition on the markets intensified, the embargo policy spread, protectionist and discriminatory measures were used increasingly frequent against our export goods, price losses increased and more than 50 countries became insolvent and requested the postponement of debt repayments. The congress stressed that if we had not been part of the socialist region of the world economy and had not cooperated within CEMA, our losses and difficulties would have been considerably greater.

In the first 4 years of the 6th Five-Year Plan the volume of exports increased 28 percent, while that of imports increased by 4 percent. Since 1982 we have been achieving an increasingly positive foreign trade balance.

A domestic balance of the national economy has been ensured (while in such important spheres as the state budget, the labor force and capital investments the situation has even improved). The correspondence between real demand and commodity supply has been maintained.

Although industrial production has not achieved planned indexes, it has grown 10 percent in 4 years. A significant success is the fact that in spite of the worsening of conditions of sale, the export of industrial products grew more rapidly than production. Import-intensiveness decreased. Tasks were solved, with the involvement of a smaller number of people, through an increase in

labor productivity. The effectiveness of raw material and energy utilization increased.

Compared to the average level of the previous five-year plan, agricultural production rose 12 to 13 percent. Record results were achieved in the production and processing of grain and industrial crops, which, together with the satisfaction of domestic needs, made it possible to increase exports. Despite repeated droughts, the average harvest yield of wheat over the 4 years amounted to 46 quintals per hectare, while that of corn was 61 quintals per hectare. Those are fairly good achievements even in comparison with the highest world indexes. Livestock-breeding developed in excess of the planned tasks. In 1983 the total volume of output planned for 1985 had already been achieved.

Because of unfavorable foreign economic conditions, the greater part of the growth in national income had to be used to increase the positive foreign trade balance in the accountability period. For this reason we were not able to completely fulfill the goal outlined by the 12th MSZMP Congress of maintaining the standard of living of the people at its former level. In the last 4 years, per capita real incomes and personal consumption have risen by 6 percent of the total, while real wages, however, have been reduced, the real purchasing power of the proportion of pensions and allowances has decreased and the material position of individual categories of the population has become worse.

At the same time, conditions of life have been improved as a whole. The congress noted with satisfaction that in the more difficult economic situation we did not have to retreat in any of the areas connected with the people's living conditions. Moreover, new steps were taken to reduce work time, the 5-day working week was introduced everywhere, and the shift to a 40-hour working week was in fact completed in industry, in the construction industry and in government institutions. The supply of basic food products and basic necessity goods was normal. The housing fund increased. There are now 278 people to every 100 separate apartments, and 135 people to every 100 rooms of housing. The number of unsatisfied applications for apartments has decreased. The population now has more durable goods at its disposal. The system of medical, social and cultural services compares with that in countries of the same level of development.

Everything useful that we have been able to do in the period between the congresses has been possible because the power of the people is stable in our country. And this is a guarantee of successful development in the future. Carrying out its leading role, the party has acted as the inspirer, leader and organizer of fulfillment of the 12th Congress' decisions. In this connection it has resorted to methods of persuading and ideologically influencing people and has provided weighty arguments. Thanks to the personal example of communists, the party has won nonparty people over to its side and has involved them in the common work to implement the MSZMP's policy.

An important factor in our achievements is the consolidation of socialist national unity and cohesion on the basis of the correct policy conducted by the party of allying the working classes and strata.

The starting point for national unity is the fact that all classes and strata of our society, people of different world outlooks, Hungarians and the national minorities who have equal rights with them all have an interest in building socialism and assume and are clearly aware of their responsibility for the fate of the motherland. The party speaks frankly about common tasks, analyzes with complete sincerity the problems and contradictions arising in the course of development, shares its plans for the future with the masses and uses their opinion in the formation of policy. The people respond to this with a readiness for persistent constructive work.

According to the congress' evaluation, what has been achieved provides a reliable foundation for further socialist construction. The main tasks of Hungarian society were defined by the forum of communists in this way: "In the years ahead our most important task will be to continue to work on the basis of historical achievements to construct a developed socialist society; to reveal and utilize reserves of the socialist system; to create conditions for an improved balance and perceptible increase in the standard of living by increasing the productivity of the national economy; to promote the development of people's creative abilities by developing science, culture and education; and to strengthen national unity for the sake of socialism by perfecting our democratic institutions."

All this requires consolidation of the leading role of the party and widening of its ideological-political influence. In perfecting social and internal political relations, it is necessary to resolutely and efficiently promote the fulfillment of socialist ideals and the achievement of our goals. Since almost all means of production in Hungary are under socialist ownership (state or cooperative), an important condition for development of the socialist system is the augmentation of it and intensive protection and maximum utilization of its advantages. This is promoted to a considerable extent by fostering a proprietary sense in workers and in leaders and their subordinates, by increasing the interest in more effective exploitation of the means of production and by involving working people on a wide scale in the preparation of decisions and in control of their fulfillment. In approximately two-thirds of state enterprises we are gradually introducing forms of management in which enterprise councils or elective management boards operate, which increases the plant's independence and also the working people's interest in more effective utilization of invested resources. The demands made on leaders, too, are increasing. The director will be elected directly by the workers themselves or by their delegates and elective representatives in observance of the principles of the party's cadre policy. Part of this process of widening democracy is the spreading practice of selecting leaders in institutions by public competition. We want to reach a point where ever more workers participate in the management of enterprises, in social control, and in social life. In the interests of this we will raise their professional and educational level.

An organic part of socialist democracy is cooperative democracy, which is the mobilizing force and one of the sources of progress of Hungarian agriculture. It successfully combines the interests of society, the collective and the



individual, and properly ensures that the labor collective's rights are implemented in the election of leaders and evaluation of their work.

The development of socialist democracy is the historical program of our party. We intend to develop it still further in all spheres of life: in the state sphere, in the workplaces, in social organizations and movements and in the collectives in residential localities. The perfecting of socialist democracy is aimed at intensifying the independence and responsibility of social and mass organizations, of local organs, of enterprises and of institutions. This creates favorable conditions and possibilities for citizens to participate, either directly or through the organizations and organs that represent them, in social affairs, in the preparation of decisions and in control of their fulfillment.

We consider, and our experience attests to this, that effective activity by the institutions of social democracy strengthens the power of the working people and contributes to the most rapid achievement of the new society's goals. The larger the tasks facing the party, the people and the country, the more pressing is the need for conscious and active participation by the masses in solving social tasks.

Having evaluated and analyzed foreign and domestic conditions in a thorough and careful manner, the congress discussed the tasks of economic construction. It was noted that in the coming years there will not be a favorable change in the situation on the world market and in the external conditions of economic development. Consequently, it is necessary to improve domestic conditions in such a way as to make it possible to continue to strengthen the equilibrium in the national economy. The changes for the better that have been achieved here are to a considerable extent the result of measures to limit use of the national income within the country. It will be impossible to continue this practice in the future, since this limits the introduction of advanced technologies that ensure the competitiveness of products on foreign markets and it also limits increasing the technical standards of goods and the population's standard of living and consumption.

Our party considers the key area in the development of society and the construction of socialism to be the economy. We proceed from the fact that successful fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th MSZMP Congress, the positive tendency of a shift to intensification and the mobilization of existing reserves form the basis for revival of development in the years ahead and a base for scientific-technological progress and marked growth in the level of the people's welfare.

In the national economy we are concerned with problems and tasks in many ways similar to the problems of other socialist countries. Speaking at a meeting with economic leaders on 8 April 1985, M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said: "This is a time that must be imbued with intensive work and bold ideas, a time that must open up scope for people's initiative and creativity. Now organization in work must be increased and all resources and reserves mobilized in order to ensure confident and dynamic socioeconomic development and accelerate the rate of our progress forward... As far as long-term tasks are concerned, the problems moving into the

foreground are those of decisively setting production on the track of intensification, improving the structure of production, accelerating scientific-technological progress, considerably improving production quality and further perfecting the economic mechanism and management as a whole... It is important to orient measures to perfect the economic mechanism and management toward comprehensively developing the activeness and initiative of the labor collectives."

The 13th Congress of our party emphasized that the 7th Five-Year Plan (1986-1990) must serve as a program for substantiated and increasingly dynamic development. This will be achieved by means of decisively and comprehensively intensifying the economy, increasing its productivity and speeding up the process of modernizing the structure of production, which corresponds to our country's conditions and to demand on the domestic and foreign markets. We are concentrating a considerable proportion of our material and spiritual resources on certain very important branches: in developing electronics and making their usage more widespread; introducing computers and carrying out automation and robotization processes; using contemporary methods of production organization; producing machines, equipment and chemical products for agriculture and the food industry; comprehensively and economically utilizing natural resources and introducing energy-saving technologies.

A decisive role in increasing the national income is played by industry, although its contribution is as yet less than desirable.

Dynamic growth in industry and an increase in its efficiency and competitiveness mainly depend on the degree to which it succeeds in reaching an advanced world level of progress in modernization, equipment and technology.

At present, industry fulfills its tasks with a greater number of personnel than is necessary. At the same time the interests of our development require that everywhere the number of people employed is necessary for economical production. The liquidation of unemployment and the guarantee of full employment is a major achievement of socialism. In the future efficient employment of manpower will become equally important. And this is primarily the task of the enterprises. Workers freed from liquidated positions at unprofitable enterprises must be channeled into successfully operating economic organizations. They must be interested in working in other work places and sometimes even in changing their profession. The state organs are expected to further create conditions for full employment, while the enterprises must bear responsibility for efficient employment.

The congress determined the mutually connected development of agriculture and the food industry as a priority task. The country's natural conditions and the resources of our large socialist farms make it possible to simultaneously ensure a high standard of food supply for the population and increase exports according to demand on international markets. Although the intensively run economy energetically developing in the agrarian sector has already yielded good results, there are still unutilized reserves in this branch. New resources are opening up for reducing outlays on production, economically increasing harvest yield, making better use of the material, technical and

biological base of food production, constantly updating this base, efficiently performing economic operations on the land and raising the standard of processing products.

Fulfillment of the tasks facing agriculture mainly depends on the large socialist enterprises and on the work of production cooperatives and state farms. An important role in production will continue to be played by private and subsidiary plots receiving support from large organizations.

It was noted at the congress that the system of economic management introduced more than 1.5 decades ago, which is one of the systems developed and implemented in the socialist countries, has become a means of fulfilling our socialist plans and successfully fulfills its functions. It takes into account the general laws of socialist construction, the country's conditions and the structural features of the Hungarian economy. While perfecting this system it is essential to ensure that the efficiency of centralized state leadership is increased and the independence and responsibility of the enterprises more fully revealed by means of improving planning, economic regulation and also the structure of organizations and institutions.

Our active participation in CEMA and in socialist economic integration plays a decisive role in substantiating national economic plans and in foreign trade strategy. The Soviet Union is a most important economic partner of the Hungarian People's Republic. We will strive to further expand and increase the effectiveness of cooperation with the USSR by utilizing the potentials of specialization and, mainly, of production cooperation.

Hungary actively participates in fulfilling the resolutions of the high-level economic conference of CEMA member countries held last year. These resolutions make it possible to more efficiently coordinate the economic development of CEMA member countries.

We are sure that satisfying demands for raw materials and energy, intensifying scientific-technological cooperation, regularly consulting on problems of economic policy and honing the economic instruments of cooperation will serve as a stimulus for the more dynamic and intensive economic growth of our countries and will strengthen the positions of the socialist community in the world economy. We strive to further expand economic cooperation with all socialist countries.

We also intend to expand mutually advantageous economic and scientific-technological relations with developed capitalist states. In our relations with liberated countries we work to intensify production cooperation and render assistance in technical progress and in the training of national cadres, as well as increasing our commodity turnover with these countries.

The efforts we expend in the interests of increasing the productivity of the national economy are aimed at raising the level of the people's well-being and improving their living conditions. The 13th MSZMP Congress stated that we can achieve a modest, but nevertheless tangible improvement in the standard of living in the next five-year plan by accelerating the development of the economy and increasing the efficiency of economic operations. We have the

potential for a 10-13 percent increase in the population's real income and consumption with a certain increase in real wages in the 7th Five-Year Plan. Concern to improve the population's supply and to perfect the services sphere must be shown as incomes increase.

A particularly important task of social policy is to improve the housing situation. In resolving the problem of the conditions for receiving apartments it is essential to more fully take into account material and social differences between families.

Work occupies the prime place in raising the standard of living, for it is only through work that the material foundations for increasing wages, income and payments from social funds can be formed. Consequently, the value, usefulness and quality of work must be the main factors in the distribution of goods. The congress deemed it necessary to emphasize that wages must better reflect the differences in the results of the work of collectives and individual workers. Consistently ensuring material interest in high-quality, efficient work and in the acceleration of scientific-technological progress is in the interests of the whole of society, as it stimulates an increase both in workers' output and in the productivity of the entire national economy and increases the mass of goods available for distribution.

Steady implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor is only possible when a firm barrier is placed in the way of dodging and unjustified, unearned income. With the support and consent of the public, our congress set party, state and social organs the task of determinedly and uncompromisingly opposing all those who try, without working conscientiously and to the detriment of society, to snatch income, privileges, or financial assistance. There can be no place for tolerance with regard to this kind of conduct and way of life; the entire force of the law must be used here, without respect of persons and irrespective of positions held.

Various payments from social funds and measures in the sphere of social policy will continue to play an important role in raising the standard of living. The prime concern of social policy is still that of ensuring citizens' confidence in the future and mitigating disparities and lagging in material position unconnected with the results of work. We cannot count on the rapid growth of sums used for these purposes in the coming years; that is why available resources should be utilized more purposefully while strictly implementing the principle of social justice and carefully considering who requires assistance and to what extent.

Implementation of the principle of social justice means that those with higher incomes must be liable to higher taxes and bear the burden of social expenditure, while people who, by virtue of their position, require assistance must receive more privileges and payments from social funds.

The congress devoted a great deal of attention to the living conditions of large families, newly married couples and pensioners. Measures were determined for improving their situation and the need to increase the proportion of state expenditure on children's education was expressed. Gradually turning subsidies for children's education up to the age of 3 into

payment for their education, the amount of which will be equal to hospital payments, is an important step forward. Family allowances are increasing and the housing conditions of large families are improving. Assistance is given to young people beginning their working life: embarking on an independent path in life, starting a family and getting an apartment is made easier for them. An important task is to strengthen elderly people's confidence in the future. Proceeding from the fact that the right to a pension is acquired by work, it is essential to strive to maintain the real purchasing power of pensions and to increase low pensions.

The forum of Hungarian communists examined problems of party construction and internal party life. The MSZMP is the vanguard of the workers class and the party of all working people. It plays a guiding role in society. Aware of its historical responsibility it implements ideological and political leadership. The party respects the independence of state and social organs and conducts its policies through communists working in these organs. The realization of party policy in practice is an indicator of whether the party fulfills its leading role. Every communist is expected to participate in implementing the leading role of the MSZMP because the chief methods of this work are conviction, ideological influence, political-organizational activity and the mobilization of the masses. The guiding, organizing and controlling activities of the party are spreading to every sphere of social life.

The unity of the MSZMP was subjected to serious ordeals during the accountability period. Exacerbation of the world situation, and also the existence of certain economic and social problems within the country, have also affected the situation in the party. The party has stood the difficult test of recent years. The overwhelming majority of party members live, work and fulfill their civic and party duties in accordance with the requirements of the MSZMP statute. Communists who selflessly and unselfishly serve the cause of the party and working people were spoken of at the congress with great respect and gratitude.

The congress spoke decisively in favor of constantly strengthening, renewing and defending the ideological-political and organizational unity of the party and the unity of its actions. It was stressed that it is not enough to simply express agreement with our principles as a whole. A criterion of true unity is action, the upholding of our policies by the communists and communists' active participation in the implementation of these policies. In the complex situation it is more difficult to orient oneself and have a clear idea of the situation. Contradictions in the development of socialist society and difficulties in the economy engender a lack of confidence in some members of our society. In the exacerbated international situation the antisocialist activities of the imperialist propaganda machine have become more aggressive. The congress urged communists to struggle in complete unity against hostile propaganda and to consistently and determinedly repel its attacks.

Constant renewal of party unity requires strict observance of the principle of democratic centralism in party life. The materials of the congress laid particular emphasis on further developing internal party democracy.

Greater opportunities must be created for party members to be able to express their opinions concerning the adoption of decisions on major sociopolitical issues and to submit their proposals and critical observations, that is, to participate in the preparation of decisions. It is very important to ensure that issues important to social life are more frequently submitted for discussion at party forums and meetings of primary organizations, and also that observations made are analyzed and taken into consideration. Free discussion, conflicting viewpoints and party criticism and self-criticism at party forums and conferences of the party organs help to strengthen unity and form a basis of common action. Communists enjoying equal rights participate in the work of meetings and in sessions of electoral organs and the outcome of discussion must not be determined by the position or rank of a party member but by the truth of his arguments. It is equally important to ensure that the adoption of a collective decision is followed by precise action on the basis of discipline and organization with the aim of fulfilling this decision. Intensifying internal party democracy is an indispensable condition of strengthening the democracy of all social life and developing socialist democracy.

At the same time as perfecting democracy it is essential to also strengthen centralism in party life, that is, the discipline of fulfilling adopted decisions which is obligatory for every communist. The resolutions of the central organs and party policy must everywhere be actively put into practice. To a considerable extent this depends on the organization of a task and control over its fulfillment. As yet this is a weak point in party work, and in the future it will have to be strengthened in the interests of enhancing the party's leading role and militancy in society. For this purpose the degree to which communists are informed will have to be improved; they will be required to defend MSZMP policy with readiness and determination. In this respect the changes made to the Party Statute at the congress envisage even greater demands on communists. Great significance is attached to ensuring that Leninist norms continue to be observed within the party and that collectivism is manifest in the process of working out decisions and personal responsibility in the course of their implementation.

The supreme party forum also deepened our understanding of the fact that ideological work is an essential prerequisite for resolving the tasks of the economy and socioeconomic policy. As a future aim it was determined that at the center of ideological work we must place an explanation of the fact that the life of the individual--a life imbued with meaning--is indissolubly connected with respect for work, with implementation of the principle of social justice, with the role of the labor collectives which shape both society and the individual, and with new, socialist and humanist values. Ideological and educational activity is expected to assist the development of real national consciousness, the growth of the nation's self-respect and patriotism and the struggle against nationalist and cosmopolitan views. Its aim is to make people understand that one of the most important guarantees of our people's future is advancement in the cause of social progress throughout the world, intensification and the practical implementation of the ideals of proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the international communist and workers movement.

"Forward along the Leninist path."--This was the central idea of the congress and the leitmotiv of the whole of our practical work. Loyal to Marxism-Leninism, we spurn all right- and left-wing distortions of this teaching, preserve the purity of our ideas, and disseminate them among the masses. In addition to its invariable elements it is natural that, in the course of socialist construction, party policy gains new elements, which do not immediately find understanding with everyone. The constant task of agitation and propaganda work is to provide answers in good time to questions that arise.

Updated policy also requires changes in the methods of party activity. We need a style of work which helps to increase the activeness of communists. It is important that the central organs do not overload primary organizations with obligatory topics for discussion and instruction from above. It is essential to reduce the volume of "paperwork" and the number of notes and conferences. Assistance should be given to primary organizations so that they do not fulfill the decisions of central organs in a formal manner and as a routine duty, but determine their tasks while taking local conditions and requirements into account.

Our party strives to strengthen its ties with the masses and enjoys the support of the working people. "And to henceforward be worthy of the confidence of the workers class and the working people, which was won in historic battles--this is the idea by which the party is guided, this is the ideal to which it aspires," said Comrade J. Kadar at the congress. "It has complete faith in the workers class, the peasantry, and all of our working people and relies on them... The party is guided by firm principles, but not by dogmas. It strives to find the correct, socialist answer to the new problems of development. Life moves quickly, new problems arise at the higher stage of development, and the solutions offered several decades ago, even 10 or 20 years ago, now no longer fully correspond to requirements. Consequently we must constantly update our policies... We consider the party to be our ideal--a party which is firm in its principles, acts with foresight and consideration in its everyday policies, and is prepared for renewal." The fact that the party's plans have met with a response among the people is attested to by the mass nature and high results of the labor competition developed in honor of the congress.

In our opinion, the resolutions of the 13th MSZMP Congress adopted with a great sense of responsibility will help communists and all the people in the course of their active work to fulfill these resolutions to considerably speed up the development of our society.

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CSO: 1802/16-F

## COORDINATION OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND POLICY UNDER SOCIALISM

AU010501 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85)  
pp 82-93

[Article by Academician O. Bogomolov--capitalized passages published in italics]

[Text] In recent years in the practice of social administration in our country, as well as in other socialist countries, increasingly great attention has been devoted to the study, formation and utilization of interests as a stimulating motive of social behavior and activeness in work.

The moods and interests of the people and the aspirations of social groups and classes have always played an enormous role in the life of society. They find especially full expression under socialism. The strength and vitality of the new system is in many respects determined by the fact that it is capable of awakening the creative and interested attitude of people toward work and of merging personal and collective interests into one. Our party considers the working people's increased material and moral interest in the end results of work and the activation, in every way possible, of the human factor in the economy to be one of the main sources of accelerating socioeconomic development.

However, correctly understanding the different interests of individual social groups, collectives and persons and, what is more, actively influencing them and bringing them into accord with the fundamental needs of all people, is an extraordinarily complicated administrative task that demands great efforts of scientists and practical workers.

The problem of taking interests into account also has an important international aspect. Respect for national interests, independence and state sovereignty together with noninterference in the internal affairs of one another, respect for complete equality and mutual benefits and, what is the main thing, comradely cooperation and mutual assistance characterize socialist internationalism in action. The democratic methods of international economic integration, which are characteristic of socialism, make it possible to organically combine the national interests of each country with the common interests of the entire community. It is important to continue to constantly



perfect these methods in order to ensure that the interests of the countries involved in cooperation will steadily grow.

#### Interest as a Subject of Social Administration

F. Engels' statement that the "economic relations of any given society manifest themselves first and foremost as INTEREST" is well known (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 18, p 27). It seems that this is true not only for economic but also for superstructural relations. New social relations cannot be formed by disregarding real people and by being dissociated from the level of their culture and social awareness, their collectivism and egoism, and their vital needs and expectations. It is also equally important to consider the specific nature of the national and state interests in choosing the ways and forms of realizing their economic policy.

This article considers economic interest to be a recognized need (advantage, benefit) that turns into a stimulating motive for the activity or behavior of people and clashes in the process of production and exchange and, consequently, in the process of adoption of appropriate solutions. The consideration of interests as a product of social (individual) awareness naturally presupposes that these interests reflect the objective conditions and needs of economic life and, consequently, the existing system of production and organization relations.

V. I. Lenin thought that "thoughts and feelings" "necessarily have their sources in the given social environment that provides the material and object of the spiritual life of the individual and whose negative and positive aspects are reflected in the individual's 'thoughts and feelings' and in the representation of the interests of one or another social class..." (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 1, p 423). The same thought was expressed earlier by Engels, "The effects of the external world imprint themselves in an individual and are reflected in the form of his feelings, thoughts, motives and expressions of will, that is, in the form of 'ideal aspirations,' and in this form they become 'ideal forces'" (ibid, vol 21, p 290). The material and moral interests of participants in the economic life of society appear as these "ideal forces."

As far as the socialist economy is concerned, it is also difficult to imagine its development separated from the process of realization, conflict, coordination and harmonization of the interests of individual persons, collectives, enterprises and, finally, organizations that represent the society as a whole. However, the dialectical interdependence between production relations and economic interests is more complicated than a simple identification of both concepts.

The social relations resulting from the pursuit of their interests by the individual participants in economic life do not always lead to the results these participants wanted or expected. To a certain extent they neither depend on them nor are they subject to them. K. Marx and F. Engels called attention to this. Of course, the socialist society is able to consciously form and control the most important social interdependence. However, here, too, the interests, expressing a definite orientation of the views and

behavior of individuals and collectives, engender in their realization the economic process that appears as the objective necessity in given social conditions.

On the other hand, however, these objective economic processes and interdependences may take shape, they in their turn, are reflected in the interests. In this connection production relations appear as though they are personified and perceived through the prism of social and individual awareness. This circumstance is itself extraordinarily important.

It is important because the functioning of the economy, the fulfillment of demands of the objective laws of its development and the satisfaction of diverse economic needs are achieved through the realization of the economic interests of people, collectives, groups, classes and so forth. Hence, these processes must be managed in a way that will ensure that the necessary influence on the motivation of social behavior of people and on their moral and material interests will be exercised through the perfecting and changing of the production, distribution and organizational relations. Although moral and material interests are predetermined by social existence, they are also a product of social awareness. Therefore they are affected by the specific characteristics of the formation and development of the spiritual world and the psychology of the individual and by class awareness. And this fact should be taken into consideration in administrative activities.

The differences between the individual participants and administrative links of social production are also connected with the differences between the interests they represent. This is inevitable in any developed society that is based on division of labor.

It has already become an established notion today that in the socialist society the economic needs and goals of various detachments of the integral national economic complex may not necessarily coincide--not as much for subjective as for objective reasons--and that in these conditions special attention and constant efforts are required to coordinate interests and ensure their community.

#### Community and Differences of Economic Interests

The divergence of interests of the individual participants and agents in economic life is conditioned both by objective and subjective reasons. However, it is important to emphasize that under socialism the prerequisites exist for the unity of the fundamental economic interests of members of the society and its classes, social strata and groups. The dominance of social property and the leading role of the state property create in principle possibilities for the coordination of different interests, the realization of all-people's interests, and the elimination of the antagonisms characteristic of the capitalist economy. And this really has become a fact in the practice of socialist construction. The all-people's interests and the single goal of the peoples' activities represent an enormous force of social progress. Moreover, the development and perfecting of society are accompanied by a strengthening of collective principles and an expansion of the general needs of the all-people and the state.

The socialist society as a whole requires systematic regulation of economic life and harmonious and rapid economic growth as a condition for the comprehensive progress on each of its members and the full development of their creative abilities. The party concretely defines this position by advancing its program demands for a significant acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and for ensuring its advancement to the highest world level of labor productivity. In this connection the quickest technical reequipping of all branches of the economy is of key importance for a radical turn in increasing the efficiency of the national economy.

This general interest of all people is coordinated with the essential and fundamental interests of individual labor collectives and persons. However, this does not imply that both the labor collectives and the individual persons do not have their own specific needs and interests that may contradict one another and that may not necessarily coincide with the general interests.

Social relations under socialism are not free from contradictions and, consequently, the interests of the participants in these relations may clash. The progressive development of society, including the development of its economic basis, is ensured by resolving the contradictions and coordinating the differing interests.

If we restrict ourselves only to the sphere of the socialist economy, then we can list the following contradictions as being characteristic of its development: lagging in perfecting the forms and methods of economic operations behind the level of development of productive forces and of the social and spiritual development of the society; the contradictions between the real overall production potential of the economy and the existing needs of the population and individual enterprises and regions; the contradictions between the concentration and centralization of production, on the one hand, and the differentiation between this production and the needs, on the other; the contradictions between the economic and social effectiveness of the development of production, between the material-commodity and prime cost aspects of this development of production, between consumption and accumulation; and so forth.

Historical experience shows that the objective possibility for harmonizing the interests, which is created by the new social system, is not utilized automatically but only through constant deliberate perfecting of all social relations and through the strengthening of socialist democracy and socialist morals. It is therefore understandable that the exposure of the objectively existing contradictions in society and, accordingly, of differences between the interests of its members and structural units represents the necessary prerequisite for solving the aforementioned contradictions.

Leaving aside for now the problem of the divergence of interests, the problem that is engendered by an inadequate reflection of the objective economic ties and interdependences in the awareness and behavior of the people, let us consider some contractions that exist in the very essence of these relations and interdependences. The combination of the socialist society's general

needs and the demands of its individual members or cells deserves special attention among these contradictions.

As regards the capitalist society, it is possible to speak only with great reservations about the existence of the "social" and "all-national" interests because the dominant class identifies its own mercenary interests with the interests of the entire society. Nevertheless, even in that society it is objectively necessary to increase production and improve its efficiency and to maintain a certain proportionality and rationality at the macro level, that is, on an all-state scale. Despite state-monopolist regulations, this proportionality and rationality is basically achieved spontaneously through constant violations and through the pursuit of his own benefits by each individual commodity producer. The general economic interest is essentially achieved as a result of conflict and, quite often, forcible balancing of private interests. And in this connection, the contradiction between the ruling class and the exploited mass of the working people is left unresolved.

The social and all-people's interest under socialism obtains its real carrier in the form of the state of the working people and acquires its real and full meaning in the systematic augmentation of social wealth as the basis for the prosperity of each individual member of the society. Therefore, the combination of the particular and general interests assumes in principle a different character.

It is in the differences between the interests of the whole and the particular in the socialist economy that the objective contradiction of distribution of the national income created by society among its most important funds, including the accumulation and the consumptions funds primarily, manifests itself. By reducing the possibilities for current consumption, the increase in accumulation creates the prerequisites for expanding and increasing the efficiency of production in future. And vice versa, the preference for increasing current consumption as compared with accumulation contains the threat of narrowing the possibilities for increasing consumption in future. On the other hand, a prolonged lagging of consumption invalidates partly or even completely the national economic effect of accumulation because it lowers the interest of workers in perfecting the production operations. These real contradictions are further aggravated by the fact that at the level of individual enterprises and regions it is difficult to proportionally balance the two objective needs for increasing both consumption and accumulation because the possibilities of society as a whole are not known at that level.

The respect for the general economic interests of all people makes it necessary to strengthen the principle of central planning in economic management, and this principle ensures that the decisive correlations and proportions are maintained in the development of the entire national economy. In the absence of a strong and plenipotentiary central economic authority, local and departmental interests inevitably become strengthened and the representation of all-people's and all-state needs and demands is weakened. This can lead in the final analysis to a situation where all-people's property cedes its place to the group property of enterprises or departments. And the collective experience of the socialist countries provides a warning against a danger of this type.

But the centralization of power, which is necessary for the fulfillment of the general economic interests of all people, objectively represents a contradiction of the need to expand the independence and initiative of the lower links of the national economy and to strengthen the democratic foundations of management, without which the creative energy of the working people cannot be fully revealed. Just like in any unity of opposites, the combination of the general and the particular interests in the economy depends to a great extent on finding the correct measure between contradictory principles or, speaking more specifically, between the centralization and the decentralization of administration, that is, between centralization and the granting of economic independence to the individual detachments of the economy. And this correlation is conditioned in every instance by certain historical conditions, that is, by the level of development of productive forces, the degree of maturity of political relations in socialism, the general and professional standards of the population, traditions and so forth.

So far as the systematic observance of the basic general economic proportions represents the necessary condition for satisfying the growing demands of each individual member of the society and the growing needs of each individual labor collective, the general economic interests must be given priority over particular interests.

However, this does not imply that the contradictions between them can be resolved by sacrificing some for the sake of others. Overcoming these contradictions most certainly does not require any infringement on private personal interests, especially in view of the fact that the socialist society as a whole is interested in the fullest possible satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of each of its members. Therefore, what is involved here is not so much a matter of the hierarchy of interests and subordination of some interests to others, as it is a matter of the right mechanism for their coordination and harmonization and of orienting the personal and collective interests in the direction of the interests of all the people.

One of the specific characteristics of socialism is the fact that intensification of the central planning and management functions increases the role of the conscious factor--party policy based on scientific methods--in the organization of economic life. The liquidation of spontaneous economic self-regulation mechanisms implies that its harmonious functioning begins to depend more and more on the reliability and smooth running of the mechanism of conscious regulation from the center. Hence it follows that economic development under socialism is affected, to a much greater extent than the economic development in any of the preceding formations, by the contradictions in the process of cognition, the contradictions between the objective laws and needs of the economy and the realization of these laws and needs by the administrative apparatus and the interests of this apparatus. For the time being, unfortunately, it must be admitted that we still do not always and thoroughly know the society in which we live.

It is impossible not to see that the differences in economic interests in the socialist society, including especially the differences in this respect

between the center and other localities, frequently hide the fact that the objective needs of the economy and its necessary interdependences are inadequately reflected in these interests. This may be a consequence both of an insufficient comprehensiveness of scientific knowledge and of an insufficient competence or knowledge of the people who manage the economic processes. As a result of this specific characteristic, it is important to develop and perfect the process of cognition and the mechanisms of collective leadership, social control, selection of management cadres and expansion of the working people's participation in working out and considering important management decisions. A further deepening of socialist democracy becomes, among other things, a purely economic necessity.

The practice of several socialist countries, including primarily Poland, shows that many difficulties in economic development result from miscalculations in economic policy, an incorrect determination of priorities in the distribution of means and resources and of orientations in foreign economic relations, and an overestimation of the real possibilities for capital investments and important social measures. Briefly, the long-term plans and other state decisions must sufficiently and correctly reflect the true general interests of all the people.

The problem of the relationship among general, collective and personal interests and of ensuring their unified orientation occupies a central place in the administration of economic life under socialism. Yet the experience of a majority of the socialist states shows that this problem cannot be considered resolved.

The new system based on social ownership of the means of production is able to ensure the fulfillment of general interests by uniting the activities of the individual detachments of the national economy according to a unified plan. This relationship does not come about as an aftereffect during the spontaneous market processes but is determined beforehand by the plan, is consciously realized through the appropriate organizational and economic relations and is therefore characterized as a directly social relationship.

Of course, the social combination of the interests of various parts is not of a universal and all-embracing nature, but primarily includes the most fundamental and important economic interdependences. On the other hand, in the sphere of individual consumption, the market relations under socialism also provide an important form of combination of individual-personal and social interests through the purchase and sale of commodities for the population. But in other spheres, too, administrative activity in fact appears as a mediator in the direct social relationship, and if this activity is poorly organized, it can undermine this relationship and disunite general, collective and private-personal interests.

The interests and motives of activity of some or other parts of the unified national economic complex are formed as a result of the recognition of these parts, first and foremost, of their own needs that are directly inherent in them. As far as the needs of the entire economy are concerned, they cannot by far be always correctly understood at its lower levels, at the levels of labor collectives, regions, or individuals. Thus it is important to transform the

general interest of all the people, formed by the center, into a guideline for the formation of all other interests of a more particular nature. The collective experience of the functioning of the socialist economy shows that the general interest of all people and its combination with the interests of the lower links of the national economy cannot be successfully ensured without the utilization of a central economic authority, that is, without the state plan. The state must be able (directly or indirectly, in a rigid or flexible form) to ENFORCE the behavior that corresponds to the common needs of the entire society and to the demands of the economic laws of socialism.

As practice has shown, the centralized management of a socialist economy can be achieved by two basic methods: It is either carried out by administrative instructions that must be unconditionally fulfilled regardless of whether they correspond to the economic interests of those to whom they are addressed, or it is achieved by influencing the formation of these interests by ensuring that the economy itself and the correlation between incomes and expenditures encourage or, more correctly, impel the actions desired by the center. In the former case, it is a matter of direct imperatives that allow no other actions than those prescribed, and in the latter case, it is a matter of economic compulsion that permits, within set limits, independent behavior and an independent search--at one's own risk--for the optimal solutions for the individual part concerned and for the entire economy. Neither of these methods of managing influence excludes the other, but they must rather be correctly combined and considered as mutually complementary.

Despite established notions, the administrative instructions and tasks incorporated in plans in the form of directives do not always turn out to be incontestable. They are quite frequently revised and softened under the force of circumstances and under pressures from below. Moreover, at the top it is at times difficult or simply impossible to correctly determine the possibilities and needs as well as the real interests of the lower links in the economy precisely in the same way as it is usually difficult below to correctly take into account the general state need. An unrealistic and therefore unfeasible directive in the final analysis deprives itself of its imperative qualities. It is impossible to conclude on the basis of economic management experience accumulated in the socialist countries that inability to correctly take into account the economic interests of the entire society as well as the economic interests of its structural subdivisions, and administrative coercion in relation to these subdivisions without consideration for and in contradiction with their real economic interests, sharply reduce the effectiveness of planned management and engender unmanageable economic processes.

This, of course, does not imply that the best results can always be achieved by influencing economic interests and by applying economic instead of administrative compulsion. First, exposure and correct appraisal of economic interests that are characteristic of various detachments of the national economy require a very sensitive and thorough analysis because these interests do not always appear at the surface and, at times, they are disguised and concealed to prevent their "infringement" from above. In this connection, economic motives can be interwoven with social, moral and all kinds of other considerations, something that makes effective management from above through

influencing economic interests even more difficult. Second, in practice economic compulsion sometimes turns out to be insufficiently strong. The central organs may be exercising indulgency and making exemptions in relation to rules already established by themselves, under the influence of various considerations, such as in a situation where the rules concerned place enterprises and construction projects in an excessively difficult position.

State interests become motives for the individual's actions when they are correctly perceived by and meet the economic interests of the collective in which the individual concerned is directly engaged in work. Therefore, the formation and utilization of the general interests of the labor collective and the widening of its economic independence represent the condition for solving the contradictions between personal and social interests. This fact has considerable potential for improving the effectiveness of the entire management mechanism of the socialist economy and for reducing the management apparatus. The brigade organization of work and the brigade contract can be seen as a confirmation of this. But the contract agreement and a full economic accountability system can also increase the interest in the best results of work when they are implemented in the state's relations with enterprises and individual localities. The experiments being carried out in our country, as well as the experience of other socialist countries, attest to this.

#### Coordination of the National and State Interests of Socialist Countries

Coordination of economic policy, as well as a broad development of production cooperation and establishment of direct relations between different detachments of economic management in the individual countries, have been assigned the central role in further intensifying the economic interaction and integration of CEMA member countries. This will broaden the possibilities for the fulfillment of the common and specific interests of the participants in cooperation.

The national and state interests of a particular socialist country are determined by the aggregate of the social needs engendered by the internal and international conditions of its development, and of the objective needs that are realized and formulated in a certain way by the ruling class in accordance with its specific positions and goals.

During the entire history of antagonistic socioeconomic formations, the interests of the ruling exploitative classes provided the main substance of the national and state interests of these or those countries. It was only as a result of the establishment of the power of the workers class and the appearance of socialist states that the national and state interests began to represent the aggregate of the objective needs of development of their peoples. It goes without saying that in this connection it is impossible to exclude the fact that for some or other reasons (for instance, as a consequence of pressure from nationalist feelings in the society or as a consequence of group interests, subjectivist errors, and so forth) its foreign policy at times may not necessarily adequately reflect the objective national and state demands. Therefore the real national and state interests should not be identified with a deliberately implemented foreign policy that may also



pursue false interests and strive to achieve imaginary advantages that in practice turn out to be harmful to the country.

The national and state interests of all socialist countries coincide in their main, primary and basic substance because countries share a common goal of social development, which also conditions their determination of adversaries and allies in the international sphere. Consequently, in their most fundamental and main substance the national and state interests of the countries of socialism do not differ from their common international interests. Precisely herein lies the guarantee for overcoming this or that difference among the socialist countries or some other questions that play a very substantial role in the life of individual countries at times but which are nevertheless less important than the basic and main elements that unite them. The correspondence of this or that historical demand of the new system's development and of its nature and prospects as outlined by the classics of Marxism-Leninism represents the most important criterion of the true nature of the national, state and international interests of the countries of socialism and the most important condition for their coordination.

The general international interest of the countries of socialism results from the objective need for their cooperation and interaction in the most widely varied spheres of social life, including the international arena. For instance, the utilization of advantages of the international socialist division of labor and economic integration and the exchange of experience in economic construction correspond to the vital interests of all socialist states. The objective demand for cooperation is recognized by the ruling parties and is embodied in their policies, but it is also formulated in their joint program documents and statements.

In the socialist world there are no supranational organs that would prescribe the observance of general interests. Administrative constraint is absent from relations between the sovereign socialist states and they cannot be forced to act against their own interests. It is only by finding ways and means of satisfying the national interests in the course of voluntary cooperation on the basis of equality that it is possible to ensure their common interest and fulfill their collective goals.

Of course, this does not imply that such international organizations as the Warsaw Pact and CEMA cannot be considered representatives of general international interests. They indeed do concern themselves with thoroughly analyzing the defense and economic needs of their member countries in order to reveal and formulate their common interests. However, they have no supranational prerogatives in the management of cooperation and of the process of coordinating interests. The recommendations of these international organizations are implemented voluntarily and their effectiveness depends on the extent to which they correctly take into account both general and national and state interests.

The socialist system of world economy that is being formed is characterized by the development of a stable division of labor and interaction between the national economic complexes and, consequently, by the rise of their general

interest in the systematic utilization of advantages of this process and in jointly maintaining certain economic proportions and ensuring the functioning of a number of international mechanisms.

As the mutual relations are deepening, intensifying and becoming more complex and as newer and newer detachments of national economies become involved in these relations, this general international interest of the socialist countries begins to play an increasing role in international life. It also includes the collective protection of these countries against the coordinated actions of the West aimed at exerting economic pressure on them by means of various discriminatory measures, credit restrictions and restrictive measures concerning technology. In this connection the West pursues differentiated policies toward the individual countries of socialism, policies calculated to weaken their interest in their joint coordinated actions and strengthen specific national and state motives in their foreign policies.

It goes without saying that international interests do not exist separately from or bypassing the national and state interests. Each socialist country pursues its national and state interests connected with the construction and perfecting of the new society and thereby also strives to satisfy the interests common to itself and other socialist countries (that is, coinciding interests) as well as the specific interests that are characteristic only for itself and which, consequently, may not necessarily coincide with the interests of other countries.

As a result of the fact that the individual socialist states occupy their own specific places in the world and in the international and socialist division of labor, that they are at different levels of economic development and that there are differences in their economic and political structures, traditional relations and so forth, the aggregates of the needs that form the national and state interests of these countries cannot be completely identical. Each of the countries has its own specific interests and its own dominant problems. However, as far as the historical prospects are concerned, the higher the levels of social development of the socialist countries become and the closer they move toward one another, the more organic their political and economic interaction becomes and the more distinct their rapprochement becomes.

The specific national and state interests naturally cannot be ignored. This would not promote the observance of general international interests and the strengthening of the unity of socialist countries. Using the words of Lenin, unity "does not demand the elimination of diversity and annihilation of national differences--"this is an absurdity for the present time"--but implementation of the BASIC principles of communism, which would CORRECTLY MODIFY these principles IN DETAIL and correctly adapt and apply them to the national and national and state differences" (ibid., vol 41, pp 77).

In analyzing the differences in the national and state economic interests in the world of socialism, it is necessary to see their background and, first and foremost, take account of the objective nonantagonistic contradictions inherent in the world socialist economy. They result in particular from the fact that the process of internationalization of production forces and technological progress is outstripping the development of international

socialist production relations and the appropriate international mechanism for regulating these relations.

Today the dialectical unity of the national and the international in the world socialist economy does not signify the negation of one by the other but a certain intensification of both of these seemingly contradictory principles. Considered from the viewpoint of the interests of the socialist system of world economy, the state organization of the economy represents a most important factor of comprehensive economic assimilation of resources within the state borders of each of the countries separately. At the same time, the state's regulation of mutual foreign economic relations, as a component part of the socialist state's activity, represents the factor ensuring the stable position of the individual national economies within the system of world economic ties and relations. It makes it possible to purposefully and most effectively join the international division of labor and protect domestic economic activities against the possible negative effects of certain trends in the development of world economic ties.

The socialist states are not all equally interested in this or that form of international economic cooperation and socialist integration, and this fact is conditioned to a certain extent by different degrees of concentration and technological maturity of national production operations, unequal levels of labor productivity, different capacities of domestic markets and, at times, also by the effect of subjective factors. The interest of these countries in the imminent structural reorganization within the international socialist division of labor also appears in different degrees.

At the same time, all CEMA member states feel the pressing need to intensify their economic development. Accelerated growth of labor productivity, steady reduction of the material and energy intensity of production operations, wide introduction of the latest results of scientific-technological progress in the national economy, higher product quality, optimization and the mutually complementary nature of the branch structures of national economies--all these represent a wide sphere of common interests which makes it possible to effectively coordinate economic policy and consistently deepen the integration of CEMA countries.

Coordination of the national, state and international interests of the countries of socialism requires patient joint work and the elaboration of different variations of mutually acceptable solutions. And what is needed in this connection is experience of economic and political activity that differs essentially from the experience of solving domestic problems.

Policy plays a special role under socialism because the socialist states perform the important functions of organization of the entire social life and of leadership and planning of social production and foreign economic relations. No major internal or external problem can be successfully solved without the correct policy of the socialist state and its ruling party. Therefore, it is not surprising that today the political cohesion of the socialist states and coordination of their economic strategies has turned into a decisive prerequisite for the further development of integrative cooperation.

In the family of equal sovereign states the general economic interests can be fulfilled only with the voluntary consent of all and everyone. But, of course, the solutions that represent the lowest common denominator cannot be considered the optimal ones. It appears that the coordination of national interests can be achieved by renouncing some current economic advantages for the sake of a major strategic gain and soberly reassessing one's own demands in the light of general needs or the general situation.

The principle of voluntary consent also creates the possibility for consciously forming conditions of economic cooperation which increase the individual participants' interest in cooperation and broaden the zone of coincidence of interests.

For instance, the 1984 economic conference of CEMA member countries at the highest level reached an agreement stipulating that in order to create the economic conditions ensuring that the USSR will carry out and continue its deliveries of various raw materials and energy fuels, the fraternal countries would gradually and consistently continue to develop the structure of their production and exports to satisfy their needs for imports--particularly of food and industrial consumer goods, some types of building materials and machines and equipment of high quality and meeting world technological standards.

The harmonization of the CEMA member countries' national and state interests depends to a great extent on perfecting the economic mechanism of cooperation. The economic conditions of exchange--that is, precisely, the economically justified perfecting of prices in mutual trade, credit relations and exchange rates and methods of determining the economic effectiveness of foreign trade, production specialization, and cooperation--assume an increasing role in the process of coordinating interests, together with coordinating long-term economic and scientific-technological strategies.

I wish to conclude the above-outlined opinions on the role and coordination of economic interests under socialism with some general conclusions. The very powerful level of planned management, which is often not fully utilized, lies in its purposeful influence on all participants' interests in economic life and, correspondingly, in international economic integration and, through that, on the motivation of their activity or economic behavior. Administrative instructions and directives lose their effectiveness in many respects if they do not coincide with or even if they contradict the economic motives for the behavior of individual persons or labor collectives. The influence of the state--as the representative of the interests of all the people--on the formation of the economic motives of behavior of the individual members and cells of the society in order to move them in the direction it requires is conditioned to a great extent by the broadening of the economic independence of enterprises and by perfecting of the economic accountability system, the finance and tax system, the mechanism of trade and monetary-credit activities, the remuneration of work and all distribution relations. The aggregate of these factors primarily predetermines the content of the economic interests of individual persons, labor collectives and places. Similarly, how the socialist countries' foreign economic interests are formed and, consequently

and in the final analysis, how effective the agreements achieved in the course of coordinating their plans are, depends to a great extent on perfecting their mechanism of cooperation.

Of course, economic interest should not be reduced merely to monetary incomes or the financial results of economic or foreign trade organs, however essential this aspect of the matter may be. Economic interest under socialism is considerably broader in its content. It is intertwined with political interest and therefore includes all the advantages (often not lending themselves to any monetary evaluation) of the planned democratic organization of social life for the good and comprehensive development of the individual.

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CSO: 1802/16-F

## LOYALTY TO LENINIST TEACHING IS THE KEY TO VICTORY

AU061115 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85)  
pp 94-97

[Article by Dimitris Sarlis, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Greece]

[Text] In celebrating the 115th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, all revolutionary forces of our epoch and all genuinely progressive people, including the communists of Greece, are confirming their loyalty to his immortal teaching.

Each new year brings new and convincing proof of irresistible vitality of Leninist teaching. And the more time passes, the more graphically real socialism demonstrates its fundamental advantages over capitalism in the process of its ascending development, the deeper the world revolutionary process and the wider the sphere of practical application of Lenin's teaching become, then the more obvious the evidence of the great transformational force of Leninism as the Marxism of the contemporary era--the era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism--will become for all oppressed and exploited people.

Bourgeois ideologues have always tried and still continue to try to prove by all possible means that Leninism (and accordingly Marxism) supposedly "no longer reflects reality," that it has "become obsolete," and that it has been "refuted by life." Apart from the bourgeois "subverters," there are also some other critics of "obsolete" Leninism. They assert that they are repudiating Leninism...in the name of renewing Marxism. Such a contrast is absolutely invalid. For in our time, negation of Leninism is equivalent to a total rejection of the revolutionary essence of Marxism and leads with inexorable logic to bourgeois ideology and to all intents and purposes to a shift to the platform of bourgeois policy.

In order to make this truth completely clear, let us take, for example, the "Eurocommunist" grouping, as it defines itself, in our country (the right-wing opportunist, revisionist grouping calling itself the "Communist Party of Greece (Interior).") These people make themselves out to be "renewers of Marxism" and "creative Marxists," while proclaiming Marxist-Leninists to be "dogmatists" who, they say, approach Marxist teaching as if it were "religious

dogma" or some "Talmud." Let us note, by the way, that the thesis of the "obsolescence" of Leninism is used at times in the most absurd manner. At the same time as they repudiate Lenin as "obsolete," they proclaim some of his contemporaries such as the renegade Kautskiy, from whom our "renewers" have borrowed their hate for the dictatorship of the proletariat and all their petit bourgeois theories of "pure democracy," to be "topical" and "unfading." In this connection it is asserted that in the decades which have passed since Lenin developed his teaching, qualitative shifts have occurred in capitalist society which have made Leninism "unsuitable." It would be possible to ask our "subverters" a few simple questions in this connection.

As a result of the changes that have occurred in capitalist society, has that society ceased to be capitalist? Have its two basic classes--the bourgeoisie and the workers class--ceased to be an exploitative, oppressive class and an exploited, oppressed class? Is unemployment perhaps no longer an organic feature of the capitalist method of production? And finally, has capitalism ceased to be a brake on the path of mankind's social progress? Has it ceased to be constantly torn with crises? And to bring innumerable hardships to the working people? Has perhaps the need for revolutionary replacement of this by socialism already fallen away?

The truth is that the development of contemporary capitalist society has not only not placed a single one of Lenin's principled conclusions in doubt, but, on the contrary, it constantly confirms them. Now, as also in the period of activity of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the workers class continued as before to be the bearer of socialist relations and the leader of the entire working people's struggle to establish them on earth. And of course, there is no other class capable of fulfilling this role. Life shows that although the antimonopolist, anticapitalist potential of the working intelligentsia, the peasantry and the middle urban strata has grown considerably, none of these social groups has acquired or been able to acquire the qualities of a leading class on the strength of its place in the system of capitalist production and in the class structure of bourgeois society.

And as this is so, the revisionists, in proclaiming the "workers, peasants and intelligentsia" in their undivided aggregate to be the predominant force in the struggle, distort the objective picture and the real arrangement of class forces in capitalist society by calling all working people the leading force, or leaders without followers. They reject the fundamental tenet of Marxism-Leninism on the historic mission of the workers class, by trying to deprive working people of their natural leader. They do enormous harm to the struggle for social liberation in this manner.

The theoretical concepts and the political practice of the Greek opportunists graphically illustrates the truth that renunciation of Leninism is equivalent to renunciation of Marxism. I will cite an example. The newspaper AVGI, the mouthpiece of the revisionist grouping in Greece, published an article by one of the grouping's leaders on 11 September 1984 which stated: "It is necessary to draw nearer to the social forces that are working indefatigably for the good of our country, whether they be workers, peasants and intelligentsia, or those small, medium-sized and large entrepreneurs who are linking their future with the development of the national economy, and to create together with them

a great social and political alliance with the aim of winning democratic power for the working people."

In review, each proposition in this program represents the "overcoming" of not only Leninism, as the revisionists assert, but also of Marxism, what relation can this "socialism" together with capitalists have to the scientific socialism of Marx? What relationship can the proclamation of entrepreneurs as allies of the working people, in the struggle for a society without exploitation, have to the teaching of the founders of Marxism? On what basis is it proposed to construct "the great social and political alliance" of the exploiters with the exploited? Finally, in whose hands will the proposed "democratic power" be concentrated? It is not difficult to comprehend that under such a "new socialism" it will remain in practice in the hands of the entrepreneurs, whose economic might will also be preserved. What else can this be called but apostasy from Marx's teaching!

Renunciation of Marxism-Leninism inevitably leads to dependence on bourgeois ideology and policy in evaluating international problems which can be distinctly traced in the example of the foreign policy concepts of the Greek "renewers" of Marxism. This grouping advocates Greece's continued stay in NATO and the EEC. It claims that U.S. and NATO bases on Greek soil are "not radishes that can be pulled out" and support agreements that envisage continued placing of them in our country. Not so long ago the leader of the Greek revisionists wrote: "We should freeze our links with NATO at the present level" (AVGI, 2 October 1984), which in simple terms signifies a blessing of further participation by Greece in this aggressive bloc. However, our country's membership in NATO and the EEC and the maintaining of U.S. and NATO bases on its territory serve only the interests of the local oligarchy and international imperialism.

Our revisionists naturally make their position out to be communists and present it as the "last word" in creative Marxism. They assert that the political line which they are conducting is capable of bringing Greece to socialism through a future transformation of the EEC of monopoly into an EEC of working people. In order to realize that this is at best, dangerous self-deception it is enough to recollect that NATO and the EEC are instruments of monopoly which were created to become, in the pathetic expression used by one of the leaders of the Greek "Eurocommunists," "a shield which will allow us to construct socialism according to our judgment," but in order to brake movement toward a new society and to extend the existence of capitalism.

The revisionists' ever-increasing dependence on bourgeois ideology and policy is most distinctly apparent in their position with regard to the countries of real socialism, and primarily the USSR. They adopt a position on every least significant problem of world politics which is, to all intents and purposes, directed against real socialism. A position which sometimes completely and sometimes almost completely coincides with the position of imperialism. Thus, for example, during the Polish events of 1980 and 1981 the Greek revisionists were, like all world imperialist reaction, on the side of the counterrevolutionary leaders of "Solidarity." Following the imperialist propaganda, they call the Soviet internationalist assistance to the people of Afghanistan "intervention" and express their support for the Afghan feudal



counterrevolution, which receives direct aid first and foremost from American imperialism. They are constantly resorting to all kinds of sallies directed against the countries of real socialism and call these countries nothing other than authoritarian and anti-democratic, supporting insinuations of imperialist propaganda that cry out that citizen's rights and freedoms are supposedly infringed upon in the countries of socialism.

A similar position with regard to the countries of socialism, a position which is far from proletarian internationalism and is in glaring contradiction to the realities of the new world, is advanced by the Greek revisionists as the main condition for winning the working masses over to their side. They assert that those communist parties which do not make constant criticism of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community supposedly lose the people's trust. One of the leading figures in the revisionist grouping formulated this thesis in the following manner: "Facts show that those communist parties which have occupied an uncritical position (with regard to the USSR and the countries of socialism as a whole--D. Sarlis) are not in a position to strengthen their links with the masses (AVGI, 9 February 1985).

Before turning to the actual facts, let us immediately stress that for communist parties the question does not merely lie in achieving popularity at any price, but in gaining the trust and support of the masses on the basis of a truly communist class policy. This policy will lead to the triumph of the ideas of scientific socialism. Our "subverters" are trying to count on unprincipled, demagogic rhetoric which does not exceed the bounds of petit bourgeois nationalism and signifies increasingly further distancing from Marxism-Leninism. Even if some party holding revisionist positions was able, let us suppose, to gain the support of a weighty proportion of the working masses, it would not be in a position to lead these masses to a decisive confrontation with the forces of reaction or to ensure the victory of the cause of socialism. In fact, is it at all possible to set a goal to win over the masses in the name of the struggle for socialism while simultaneously making constant criticism of the only really existing socialism? Is this not absurd?

As far as the facts are concerned, they too do not confirm the revisionist thesis cited above on ways of winning over the masses. Our time provides enough evidence of the fact that an opportunist policy leads, in the final analysis, not to an increase but to a decrease in influence, sometimes even catastrophically sharp, among the masses, and vice versa. There is even more practical confirmation that a proletarian party can enjoy the firm support of the masses only by conducting a consistently revolutionary policy and by occupying a genuinely internationalist position with regard to the USSR and the other countries of real socialism. It is, of course, not easy to follow this path. The bourgeoisie subjects such a party to frenzied attacks. Nevertheless, this path is the only correct one, for it ensures the victory of the cause of social progress, peace and socialism.

(The Communist Party of Greece is steadily widening its influence among the country's working people, which is being reflected in the elections to the representative institutions. Thus, in the parliamentary elections in 1985 it

won 12 seats, while it won only five seats in 1975. The revisionist grouping has one deputy in the national parliament.--editor's note)

It is my deep conviction that everything that has been said attests once again to the importance and topicality of the irreconcilable struggle against any deviations from Marxism-Leninism. The struggle for the class steadfastness of the political line is one of the obligatory preconditions for the victory of revolutionary forces in any capitalist country.

It is quite clear that unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and firm adherence to its principles does not exclude but, on the contrary, constantly dictates the necessity of studying new phenomenon, giving them the correct theoretical explanation, and taking existing realities into account in the communists' policy, thus enriching and developing Marxism-Leninism. Marxist-Leninist teaching organically accepts everything progressive. It is in a state of constant development and renewal. In this connection what is involved is renewal that does not diminish but, on the contrary, promotes fuller materialization of its revolutionary essence, that gives Marxism-Leninism even greater vital force, and makes it invincible.

The Communist Party of Greece understands the question of loyalty to the teaching of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin in precisely, and only, this way. Let the bourgeoisie and the opportunists call this loyalty "dogmatism" as much as they like. For us it is the key to victory and the Greek Communists will cherish this loyalty to the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism as the apple of their eye.

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CSO: 1802/16-F

POTSDAM: A LOOK AT THE FUTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85) pp 98-109

[Article by V. Nekrasov]

[Text] The celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory over the forces of fascist barbarism illumined like a bright searchlight beacon the main and most essential aspect of the heroic events of this not-so-distant past, which shaped the main features of today's world. It became entirely obvious that the freedom-loving peoples not merely honor the memory of the exploit of millions of fighters who saved them from slavery and the creators of the victory to which the Soviet Union and its armed forces made a decisive contribution. The harsh and instructive lessons of the war remain an effective moral and political force for mankind, enabling us to surmount the difficult and dangerous turns in the current stage of global developments. In vain does unofficial Western propaganda try to create the impression that this victory has become an irreversible part of the past and is of no more than historical interest today. Equally vain are efforts to misrepresent the nature of what took place on earth 40 years ago, and to depict it as something not directly related to contemporary reality. No, the memory of the people can separate the essential from the accidental and, again and again, return to those days, to the basic and permanent fact which must be remembered and known, so that, under the new circumstances as well, a repetition of the fatal course of events which, this time, can deprive mankind of any kind of a future can be avoided.

We must struggle decisively and jointly against wars and those who instigate it. Such is one of the main lessons of recent history. At that time, countries with different sociopolitical systems were able, although belatedly, at the cost of great sacrifices, to unite in the face of the mortal fascist threat and to prove that effective political and military cooperation for the sake of the single human idea of freedom and peace was possible. The atmosphere of cooperation among the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition and the real understanding of the new situation which developed in the world as a result of the defeat of fascism were reflected in the principles of the just postwar settlement formulated by the victorious countries at the allied conferences. Whatever their foes may say and write today, the insurmountable fact remains that it was largely thanks to the implementation of precisely these principles, albeit not always full and occasionally not carried to its

logical end, that peace on earth proved to be more stable than one could imagine on the basis of the experience of the decades which preceded World War II.

The Potsdam Conference of heads of the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain, which took place in the capital of the overthrown Third Reich from 17 July to 2 August 1945, plays a particular role among the main interallied conferences. As the heir to the meetings at Teheran and Yalta, the Potsdam (Berlin) conference proved, yet once again, the possibility of successful cooperation among countries with different social systems, at this point in terms of organizing the postwar world. Despite the complex nature of the discussions which took place at the conference, in the final account it reflected the common interests of its participants, which also met the interests of all peace-loving countries. In assessing the results of the conference, in its 3 August 1945 issue PRAVDA wrote: "These basic common interests are to lift once and for all the threat of German aggression, prevent the rebirth of German imperialism and ensure lasting peace among nations and universal security." Unquestionably, this assessment is equally relevant in today's international situation.

There was nothing subjective or accidental in the fact that at their concluding meeting the heads of the three allied countries concentrated, above all and mainly on the future of defeated Germany. Actually, could the fact that both world wars, unparalleled in terms of the blood which was shed, and which had cost mankind 60 million lives, not to speak of millions of maimed and shortened lives, an ocean of human suffering and unparalleled destruction, had as their epicenter imperialist Germany be considered an accidental coincidence?

The participants in the Potsdam Conference based on their discussions on the experience of the first half of the 20th century. Now, when this century is coming to an end and mankind has been enriched with the experience of postwar developments, a century during which the so-called "German problem" remained a sensitive area of international relations for many years, and when the current global tension is related to a decisive extent to the activities of U.S. and NATO militaristic forces, including those conducted on West German soil, the conclusions drawn by the participants in the Potsdam Conference deserve, as in the past, most serious attention and the results of their implementation--or nonimplementation--demand a clear and unequivocal evaluation.

However much the Western participants in the conference dissociated themselves from the Potsdam resolutions in subsequent years, and however much they may have sabotaged their implementation in the Western zones, a sabotage which, as one may say, followed all lines, these resolutions, above all by virtue of their consistency with the requirements of reality, and the clearly manifested will of the people to ensure a lengthy international peace, had a positive impact on the postwar development of the situation in Europe and throughout the world, the importance of which cannot be belittled. In principle, the Potsdam resolutions closed the "matter of Germany" as a hotbed of global military conflicts, thus creating the political and legal foundation for the stable and safe life of the peoples. The result of the total and comprehensive implementation of the Potsdam resolutions in the part of the

country which was temporarily under Soviet administration was the birth of a new Germany here, whose people, guided by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, are dedicating all their efforts to peaceful constructive toil. Today, when two countries with opposite social systems have existed on German soil for more than 35 years, the world commonwealth of nations has, in the German Democratic Republic, a sovereign state of German workers and peasants, who firmly and uncompromisingly chose a socialist way of development, a state which decisively put its entire policy at the service of peace.

Regardless of the will and the wish of West German political leaders, the obvious successes achieved by the GDR working people in building a new life are substantially influencing the development of circumstances in the FRG, which was hammered out by the Western countries in accordance with their own concepts and in violation of the letter and the spirit of the Potsdam agreements. The "other Germany, i.e., the state in which the power belongs to the working people, is a model and example to the working people and all democratic forces in West Germany of a just solution of basic social problems. It is objectively their support in their struggle for defining their future. At the same time, it is an insurmountable obstacle on the way to the implementation of the expansionistic plans of FRG reactionary circles serving the interests of monopoly capital circles which, in obvious violation of the stipulations approved in Potsdam, have once again assumed command positions in West German society.

Despite all the changes which took place, the rebirth in the FRG of a hotbed of military-revanchist encroachments on foreign lands and a respective preservation of the disease-causing factor in contemporary world politics was the direct consequence of the sabotaging of the Potsdam decisions, as a result of which the military machine which was recreated on West German soil, despite the clearly expressed will of the winners 40 years ago, operates within the North Atlantic Alliance under the direct patronage of military-political circles on the other side of the ocean, as a structural component of the new military threat to peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

The totally unrealistic claim of the existence of a certain unsolved "German problem" remains the main propaganda screen concealing the activities of forces in the FRG who are still unwilling to accept the collapse of the Reich, which burned down in the flames of the war, who question the existing boundaries in Europe and are inclined to attempt the liquidation of the socialist state on German soil. However, assuming that some kind of "German problem" exists to this day, it is the danger which said activities of West German reaction presents to universal peace, rather than what it claims to be. This "problem," as we know, was resolved once and for all and irrevocably by life itself, as confirmed by the "Eastern treaties" concluded between the FRG and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Therefore, the Potsdam decisions played and continue to play a most important role in present international politics. As to the future, the development of the general European political situation along one line or another largely depends also on the extent to which realism in FRG politics can dictate to the country to follow the logic and spirit of the agreements reached by the winners 40 years ago in the overthrown capital of German imperialism.

Each "national" imperialism, as life confirms, has its characteristic historically developed features and specific means and methods of action for the sake of the predatory objectives common to all imperialists. German imperialism as well has always had its own features, its characteristic style.

In his time, V. I. Lenin pointed out the specifics of German imperialism, emphasizing that the German capitalist group "is even more predatory and even more piratical" than the Anglo-French one (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 32, p 83). "For decades the imperialists have tried to turn Germany into a military camp," he said (op. cit., vol 35, p 117). As he pointed out, the main war party in Germany "has become all too accustomed to rely on the power of the sword" (op. cit., vol 36, p 337). The German imperialists joined somewhat later the struggle for the imperialist division of the world, relying to a decisive extent on military power, intoxicated by the victories won by the German military in the wars of the second half of the 19th century.

The defeat in World War I, which they unleashed, did not sober up the bosses of monopoly Germany. Nor were they stopped by the catastrophic consequences which that war had for imperialism as a whole, manifested in the outbreak of the general crisis of capitalism and the accelerated ripening of prerequisites for the birth of a new social system, when after the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia a wave of revolutionary upheavals rolled over the capitalist world, including Germany itself. Having coped with these upheavals, 15 years after the loss of the war, the big German bourgeoisie brought to power in the country reactionary forces which took the path of accelerated preparations for a new global slaughter. The guilt of the German state for the outbreak of world conflicts was mentioned by the heads of the leading members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition at their first meeting in Teheran. They took up the same matter in Yalta and discussed it at the Potsdam Conference. None other than Harry Truman, the U.S. president, said at Potsdam that "I think that it is the duty of our conference...to prevent a repetition of such phenomena." This view was shared by Stalin and Churchill.

Nor could the participants in the Potsdam Conference fail to take into consideration the fact that the policy of the Hitlerite leadership had not only simply adopted the basic elements of the imperial course pursued by the Kaiser's Germany. It had given them exceptionally twisted aspects, making them the core of extreme racism and genocide on an unparalleled, a monstrous scale. The heads of fascist Germany considered establishing global hegemony of German imperialism, the creation of a global superempire possessing tremendous economic and political power and master of the life and death of hundreds of millions of people, who were to become dumb slaves, their immediate objective, which had to be attained literally in numbered years through the destruction of a civilization which had been developed by mankind over the centuries. The delirious concepts of establishing German global domination, conceived by the Nazi leadership and backed by the operative plans developed by the Wehrmacht general staff with its typical precision, and the cannibalistic concepts of the fascist superiors, calling for the destruction of millions of people in the conquered countries, were the concentrated manifestation of the arrogant scorn typical of the German military and the

imperialistic circles of the Germany of that time, for others peoples, the praise of anything German and the closely related exceptional cruelty, inclination for plunder and indiscriminate adventurism. The alliance of reactionary forces, such as war industry magnates and financiers, the Prussian military caste and the high local nobility--the Junkers--drawn by German monopoly capitals into assuming the country's leadership, turned in the 20th century into a real tragedy for the talented and industrious German people, who were the bearers of unquestionable humanistic traditions and who had made their unique contribution to European civilization over the centuries.

Despite the ideological differences which existed among them, the heads of the three leading countries in the anti-Hitlerite coalition assessed soberly and realistically the "German problem" as they saw it in terms of the practices of Nazism, and drew corresponding conclusions. They did not consider this problem in the least the result of the reasoning of a handful of adventurists who had seized power in Berlin. Nor did they consider it the embodiment of some kind of far-fetched idea of totalitarianism with no roots in social reality, as responsible Washington circles are trying to prove today; they considered it a sociopolitical phenomenon threatening to all nations.

Another circumstance which the Western participants in the Potsdam conference could not fail to take into consideration and which, in its time, prevented the implementation of the plans of the organizers of the joint Western "crusade" against socialism, nurtured by imperialist reaction in the other capitalist countries on the eve of World War II, but instead led to the establishment of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. It was the awareness, which grew as one European country after another fell to the Nazis, that the leaders of the "Third Reich" had planned to begin the subjugation of the world by making the developed capitalist countries of Europe colonies of "greater Germany" and the conquest of North America. The pillars of monopoly capital in the rest of the world were neither willing nor able to forgive the Hitlerite camarilla such a "betrayal" of the common class interests in the struggle against socialism. This is the explanation for the overall firm position, partially forced and partially willing, assumed until the end of the war by the Western leaders of the anti-Hitlerite coalition toward the Nazi state.

Finally, the decisive factor which did not allow the monopoly leadership of the other Western countries to follow to the end the path of a compromise which Hitlerite Germany, based on common class interests, which influential elements in this leadership wanted on the eve of and during the first stage of the war, was the universal anger triggered by the Nazi crimes. It was this anger that swept off the bourgeois politicians--the people of Munich and the collaborationists, who had taken the path of cooperating with the fascists and to grovel at their feet--that forced the leaders of the "Western democracies" to raise the demand for unconditional surrender by Hitlerite Germany and to remain loyal to it until the final day of the war. One of the most important lessons of World War II is, precisely, the fact that it proved the real possibility of the triumph of the popular will over all self-seeking and thoughtlessly blind aspirations shown by the imperialist politicians during a time of terrible danger to the future of the peoples. The unwillingness to acknowledge this major historical fact and its significance to the present

motivates the Western leaders who today, like President Reagan, are seeking "reconciliation with the past."

Therefore, the total military routing of the Hitlerite "Reich" created the necessary and objectively favorable prerequisites for the definitive deletion of the "German menace" factor from international relations. Soviet diplomacy waged a persistent and principle-minded struggle for their implementation. In working for the elimination of German militarism and Nazism and the formulation of international guarantees to the effect that Germany will never again be able to disrupt peace in the world, at the Potsdam Conference the Soviet Union firmly proceeded from the intention formulated by the allies in Yalta to contribute to the implementation of the hopes "for a worthy existence of the German people and its place in the commonwealth of nations." This view was entirely consistent with the internationalist principles of Soviet foreign policy and proceeded from a comprehensive consideration of historical experience. Any identification of the Hitlerite clique with the German nation was alien to it. On the very first day of Hitlerite Germany's treacherous attack on the USSR, on 22 June 1941, in its address to the people the Soviet leadership noted that the war had been imposed on our country not by the German people but by its "bloodthirsty fascist rulers." Throughout all subsequent years the Soviet Union systematically rejected the policy of revenge and national humiliation of the Germans or their oppression.

A principle-minded approach to the German problem required not the long-term damaging of the national interests of the German people or the artificial division of their country but the uprooting of the sources of expansionism and aggressiveness and providing guaranteed conditions for their peaceful democratic development. Looking at this problem from today's viewpoint, how could Europe and the rest of the world benefit from, let us say, the appearance of three, five or even seven formally independent countries yet actually vulnerable to any pressure from the outside, instead of a single Germany, as Washington and London had suggested? Would that not have meant the appearance of an even more explosive area compared to the Middle East today, in the most sensitive part of the world at that? The interests of universal security and those of the German people dictated not the dismemberment of Germany but the elimination of the "Nazi spirit" within it--this most human-hating handiwork of German imperialism. The total dismantling of the military machine and the industrial sectors which serviced it and the elimination of the Nazi party and of all its structures, including the ideological ones, and the elimination of the grounds which nurtured revanchism and all other carriers of the threat of war, in addition to the routed fascism, was the meaning of the elimination of the "spirit of Nazism" which the Soviet Union firmly supported at Potsdam.

The consistency between this approach and the requirements of common sense and practical experience gained by the peoples in the course of the war and the high reputation of the land of the soviets throughout the world as a result of the decisive role it had played in attaining victory were all working in favor of Soviet diplomacy in the persistent and complex struggle for ensuring conditions for a durable peace in Europe and throughout the world, waged both during the war and immediately after it. As a result, the Potsdam Conference was able to codify in its resolutions the initial political and economic



principles which, with the active participation of the democratic forces in the German people, were to guide the allies and which could and should have provided the guarantee that Germany will no longer be a hotbed of aggression and a threat to peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

Although in accordance with the Allied decision reached at the Yalta Conference Germany's territory was divided into zones of occupation, the Potsdam agreements defined a political line common to the entire country, based on the principles of its demilitarization, democratization and de-Nazification. In accordance with the accepted suggestion of the United States, the Allies were not to establish a central German government for a specified period of time. Nevertheless, they did resolve to consider Germany "a single economic entity" and to set up a number of central administrative departments which would guide the country's national economic life but which, unfortunately, was not done by the fault of the Western countries.

As a whole, the Potsdam agreements provided the necessary suitable base for implementation of the objective that "never again will Germany threaten its neighbors or peace the world over."

The question of the German borders which, in accordance with the principles of historical justice, would become a factor of peace in Europe, a question directly related to the problems of Germany, was a separate part of the agreements reached at Potsdam. Considerations to the effect that the participants in the conference had left this question open until a peace treaty was signed had no substantiation. A close study of the content of the discussions which had taken place not only in Potsdam but in Teheran and Yalta as well, convincingly proves that the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition had no basic differences concerning the future Eastern German border; all the Western countries questioned was the problem of the border in its southern sector. It was only this problem that was to be resolved at the peace conference. Meanwhile, the definitive nature of the general decision on the territorial settlement was confirmed by the agreement on the relocation of the German population from territories lost by Germany.

As to the relocation, it has become fashionable in some West German circles to blame the victors for the alleged "unfairness" caused by this exile. What is deliberately ignored in this case is the unseemly role, to say the least, which the German population in Czech and Polish territories was to play, as planned by the Nazi warmongers, and which it mostly played in unleashing the aggression. Forty years ago this was clear to all. The discussion of the relocation of the German population, considered by the participants in the Potsdam conference as an act of justice and a means of strengthening peace, was suggested by the British delegation. The draft it submitted stipulated that "the German population must be moved from central and southeastern Europe to Germany." The suggestion was adopted with the specification that it was a question of part of the German population which had not withdrawn with the German forces but had "remained in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary."

Looking back, we can confidently note today that the full and conscientious implementation of the Potsdam agreements on Germany by the Western countries, definitively codifying the new situation in Europe, created with the victory

of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, would have prevented not only the subsequent division of Germany but the transformation of the continent into the main hotbed of cold war. The Potsdam agreements laid the necessary foundations for the birth of a peaceful democratic united Germany. "If the German people steadily direct their efforts toward achieving this objective," the communique on the Berlin Conference, signed by its participants, stated, "in the course of time it would be able to assume its place among the free and peaceful peoples of the world." Therefore, the full implementation of the Potsdam agreements would have created real opportunities for the definitive transformation of Europe into a continent of peace and good neighborly relations among nations.

Unfortunately, these opportunities were not to be used to their fullest extent. In the days of Potsdam, the policy of the then-leading circles of the United States and Great Britain indicated an increasingly tangible aspiration to curtail equal cooperation with the Soviet Union on the basis of the peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and a conversion to the positions of confrontation with the USSR and undermining the new sociopolitical realities which were developing in central and southeastern Europe as a result of the defeat of fascism. Defeated Germany was being increasingly turned into the subject of unseemly political machinations on the part of Washington and London, which were trying to turn it into the central battlefield in the struggle against socialism. The failure of drafting a peace treaty with a unified Germany, the conclusion of which was stipulated in the Potsdam agreements, became one of the main steps taken by the United States and Great Britain, joined by France, which led to the division of Europe into confronting alliances and, as a result, the revival of the "German factor" in world politics, at this point in its new "West German" form.

The history of the two states which developed on German soil as a result of postwar developments is inseparably related to the struggle between the forces of socialism, democracy and peace, on the one hand, and those of imperialist reaction, on the other, which developed in the world arena over the past 40 years. The attitude toward the Potsdam accords is a decisive indicator of the positions assumed in this struggle by both German states, from the very beginning.

Literally on the fifth day after the proclamation of the founding of a German democratic republic, its government solemnly announced its resolve to implement the Potsdam agreements concluded among the three powers as creating the necessary prerequisites for German democratic development and excluding the previous path of war and aggression. The steps for demilitarization and de-Nazification, the breaking up of cartels and the democratization of society were systematically implemented first on the territory of the Soviet occupation zone and, subsequently, by the sovereign GDR. Respect for the essence of the Potsdam resolutions, aimed at strengthening peace in Europe and preventing the threat of war, became the base of GDR foreign policy and remains its guiding principle. As was reemphasized at the SED Central Committee Plenum, held last June, the inflexible principle of GDR policy stipulates, as in the past, that everything possible must be done to prevent the outbreak of a war from German soil. The decisive key aspects of GDR policy are to ensure the most favorable external conditions for the building

and reliable defense of socialism and the dedication of all possible efforts to the preservation of the peace, strengthening international security and a return to detente.

The Western countries which, from the very beginning, had taken a course of sabotaging the allied agreements and refusing the implementation in their zones of the decisions relative to the systematic demilitarization and democratization of Germany, the abolishment of the large monopoly associations which could exert a political influence and the dismantling of the armament industry, led to the systematic deepening of the ditch separating the western and eastern parts of Germany and, step by step, turned it into a precipice. Both the Potsdam agreement and the national unity of the German people were sacrificed by them to the plan of using West German resources in the struggle against socialism. On their part, the new powers in West Germany, implanted by the occupation powers, systematically followed the fairway of this policy in order to retain and strengthen here the positions of monopoly capital, which had weakened as a result of the war.

The big bourgeoisie in postwar West Germany did not appear out of thin air. The monopoly leaders, who had blossomed under the Hitlerite regime, had initiated timely preparations for the new period the moment the future military defeat of Nazism had become clear. As a memorandum, written as early as the spring of 1944, requested by the Reich Group for Industrial Problems, which included noted representatives of monopoly circles, stipulated, the task was to prevent the "reorganization of the social system as a whole." Furthermore, this leadership was already then beginning to formulate ambitious plans for the future. One year prior to the definitive collapse of the "Third Reich," the "continental-European idea" was being discussed within the narrow circle of the biggest German industrialists and financiers. It called for the unification of the capitalist part of Europe with the leading role to be played by German capital. It is precisely this "idea" which is the basis for current fashionable discussions in Bonn concerning the "Europeanization of the future of Germany," and which conceals the chimerical dream of the restoration of capitalist power in the entire continent and the totally unrestricted expansion of West German monopolies.

By helping to keep the tension in Central Europe and hoping, with the help of the combined military power of the West, to apply increasing military and political pressure on the Soviet Union and the other European countries, which had taken the path of socialist development, with a view to forcing their retreat, the leaders of the West German state deliberately cultivated revanchist aspirations among certain social circles in the country. Revanchism was actually placed in the cradle of the Federal Republic the moment it was founded. Revanchist feelings were reflected in the fundamental law (the FRG constitution) which, in violation of universally acknowledged legal norms, proclaimed that it was passed on behalf of the population of the GDR and claimed to protect all Germans "on the territory of the German empire as it stood on 31 December 1937." Such feelings have been reflected in an entire series of subsequent governmental documents and declarations. The creation of expansionistic aspirations on the part of West German imperialism--revanchism--the existence of which, despite numerous confirmations, is stubbornly denied by Bonn governmental circles, is once

again, as in the first postwar decades, having a disturbing influence on the European international situation, like a nidus of infection.

We cannot ignore the clearly traced continuity in this propaganda "support" between an essentially aggressive course toward which the monopoly circles of West German capital are directing the Bonn government and the clear tie with the old traditional grounds for imperial aspirations by the German rulers. Actually, whether it is a question of the notorious "Soviet military threat" or "Soviet aspirations for the domination of Europe," fabricated on the Rhine, or trumpeting the need to correct "injustices" allegedly committed toward the German people, or the importance of protecting "Western values," it always turns out that all of these motifs, although shaped or formulated differently, were inherent not only in Goebbels' but even in the Kaiser's propaganda.

Thus, already by the turn of the century there was talk of the "Slavic menace," as it was then known in the German capital. At that time, assertions that Germany had some kind of "civilizing" mission in the world were quite popular. Paid propagandists in the Weimar republic in the 1920s called upon every German to carry in his heart the "national idea," considering it a means of chauvinistic upbringing of the masses. The generals, who had lost World War I, demanded the praising of the military exploits of the past which, allegedly, "embodied true German valor" and argued that Germany's new rearmament was necessary in order to secure its "right to self-determination."

The collapse of the ideological carcass erected by German fascism in the country was no less comprehensive than the military machine hammered out by the Hitlerite regime. However, it took a relatively short time for the old familiar revanchist motifs to be heard once again in West Germany. The exposure of the injustice of the "Versailles peace system," which had been set by the victorious countries after World War I, was now replaced by calls for the restoration of Germany "in its 1937 borders." Demands for the "free self-determination" of all Germans are today an actual appeal for the abolishment of the socialist system in the GDR. Impudent claims are being made regarding land belonging to Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

Those who are, not by accident, known as "eternally yesterday's" in the FRG, and who have learned nothing from history are clearly not bothered by such propaganda borrowings, for they have developed a system of mass revanchist organizations which they call "associations of expatriates" or "homeless landsmen societies" in the model of associations which had been set up for Germans returning from the colonies which Germany had lost after World War I.

It is quite obvious that, considering the current ratio of forces in the world arena, West German imperialism is unable to disrupt the peaceful development of international life on its own. It has neither the resources nor the possibilities of the past. Its organic weakness is confirmed by the definite successes which the democratic forces within the West German people have attained over the past years in the struggle for a renovation of social and political life in the FRG, making it consistent with the realities of global developments and properly understood vital interests of West Germany itself. In this respect, the period of the 1970s not only clearly indicated the possibility of a turn in FRG policies to the path of reason but also proved

the practical possibility of attaining such a turn manifested, in particular, in the support which Bonn's social-liberal government gave to the policy of detente and the conclusion of treaties with the members of the socialist comity, based on a sober assessment of international developments. Subsequently, however, the right-wing forces, with the powerful support of domestic and foreign reaction, were able to hinder and, in some areas, substantially to turn back the initiated movement in a new direction.

The pillars of militarism on the Rhine are trying to replace the progressive weakening of the forces of West German imperialism by strengthening their alliance with related circles in other capitalist countries, hoping to continue to play, to an increasing extent, the role of inspirers and organizers of the aggressive trend in the activities of the North Atlantic Alliance in Europe.

Imperialist alliances, Lenin wrote, "grow out of wars" and, in turn, "prepare wars," for they are born on "one and the same soil as imperialist ties and interrelationships" (op. cit., vol 27, pp 417-418). Involving the Bonn republic in NATO at the beginning of the 1950s was the result of the mutual wish of the ruling circles of the newly created FRG and the most important Western countries. It was achieved despite the persistent warnings of the Soviet Union, which pointed out the full danger of Western actions directly and radically violating the letter and the spirit of the decision of the allied countries to prevent a new threat to peace on the part of German imperialism and despite the firm protest of all peace-loving forces, including forces within the FRG itself.

Should one be amazed, therefore, that using for their own purposes the anti-Soviet and antisocialist trend of the policy pursued by the ruling U.S. and NATO circles, to this day the representatives of the militant forces of West German imperialism are trying to identify the interests of their bloc allies with their by no means peaceable aspirations. Turning to his overseas protectors and using the same old boogie of the "Soviet menace," in an interview granted to the American magazine TIME, printed last May, FRG chancellor H. Kohl said the following: "Today our country is defending not only the freedom of the Germans but the freedom of the Americans as well." In precisely the same terms, A. Mertes, a West German governmental personality close to revanchist circles, pathetically exclaiming in the course of a talk with French journalists from LE MONDE that "Germany's wound is bleeding" (!) and that on the Rhine the people are unwilling to reconcile themselves not only with the "division of Germany" but also the "division of Europe," proclaimed that "this view is shared by all Western countries." Enraptured by their new aggressive plans, these people assume that the rest of the world has forgotten that no more than half a century ago Hitler and his associates had taken a similar pose of defenders of "European civilization."

The advent of the Reagan administration to power in the United States and its program of accelerated arms race and the efforts to achieve military superiority over the socialist world were perceived by the West German imperialist circles as a signal for a new energizing of subversive anti-peace activities. In a book published in the FRG a few months ago, written by A. Dreggter, chairman of the CDU/CSU faction in the Bundestag, who is yet

another member of the reactionary wing of West German politicians, clearly described the essence of the current hopes of Bonn's militarists: "The direct political and military-strategic involvement of the United States in Western European affairs is necessary; this can be achieved only by deploying American weapons of the required categories in Western Europe." This sheds additional light on the underlining of persistent efforts made by policy makers in the FRG aimed at actively assisting in the delivery of American first-strike nuclear missiles to the European continent.

The current outbreak of activity of militaristic-revanchist forces on the banks of the Rhine is the result, as we may see, of two basic reasons. The first is the aggravation of the crisis experienced by West German capitalism, which has energized the activities of the big bourgeois circles which, in an effort to find a solution to the difficulties at the expense of the toiling masses, are making an overall turn to the right in the state's policy, emulating their "elder brother"--American imperialism. The second began with the deployment of new American nuclear missiles on FRG territory, which poured oil into the fire of the revanchist passions and hopes and, once again, brought to the surface the political props of the past, including demands to revise the results of World War II. The current FRG leadership asserts verbally its support of the principles of the inviolability of European borders and the sovereignty of all countries on the continent. In fact, however, it considers them, something which, strictly speaking, it does not make any particular efforts to conceal, a certain "temporary condition" which, it is claimed, does not predetermine a definitive settlement, naturally in the interests of monopoly capital. History, as Chancellor H. Kohl states, "has not had the last word or performed the final act."

One should think that it is for the sake of such a "final" solution that the course of increased rearming of the FRG is continuing. According to TIME, the country's territory has already become "the most militarized area in the world." Despite the fact that FRG military potential has long exceeded any sensible defense requirements, the Bonn government is promoting its further growth. In accordance with last year's resolution of the Council of the Western European Alliance, it obtained the possibility of developing and deploying its own long-range offensive armaments, which can threaten the safety of countries distant from the FRG. Currently it is trying to play a more active role in NATO nuclear policy. By participating in Reagan's plans for the militarization of space, the ruling circles in the Federal Republic would like to turn their country into a state, as wrote VORWERTS, the West German social democratic weekly, "not only possessing strategic armaments but also capable of harming the USSR."

The dangerous course charted by the ruling West German circles is encountering today the increasing opposition of the broad social circles which have been activated and which are becoming increasingly aware of the futility and mortal threat of such a course. As a result, today the FRG finds itself at major political crossroads. A great deal will depend on the way, in the final account, the West Germans themselves, taken as a single national entity, will be able to control their own fate.

The activities of the reactionary imperialist circles in the FRG, who rely on the support of related forces in other NATO countries, the United States above all, and, furthermore, which have acquired over the past years some military and technical resources, are unquestionably, once again a factor of instability in Europe, additionally worsened by the already tense and even dangerous situation prevailing in international relations today. It would be erroneous, however, to exaggerate the real importance of this factor, for given the existing breakdown of world forces, it does not represent an autonomous value which could throw the world into the abyss of a new world conflict without a conspiracy with the imperialist center across the ocean.

The historical significance of the defeat of Hitlerite fascism is continuing to have a curative influence on the state of affairs in Europe, preserving for the peoples of the continent, including the people of the FRG, the possibility of further development on the path of peace, democracy, freedom and social progress. That is why the decisions on the German problem made at the Potsdam conference remain a major component in shaping the moral and political climate on European soil, not to mention their international-legal significance. The latter is determined by the avoidable circumstance that the Potsdam agreements, added to the treaties signed by the FRG with the Soviet Union, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia in the 1970s, have fully and definitively codified the postwar territorial structure in Europe as was essentially confirmed by the Helsinki Final Act. No one has the right to reject something which has not only become a canon of international law but which was brought to life by the incalculable casualties suffered by the peoples in the past war.

Any sallies directed against these most important international acts which determine the face of contemporary Europe are doomed to failure above all by virtue of the decisive support of such acts on the part of the members of the socialist community, a support based on the powerful economic and military potential of these countries. Another essential force working for the further consolidation of the principles of the postwar peace settlement on the continent is the will for peace, detente and organization of normal good neighborly relations and mutual cooperation, demonstrated by all European peoples, including the people of the FRG, who have learned a great deal from their hard historical experience.

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CSO: 1802/16

## FOREIGN POLICY OF DEMOCRATIC YEMEN AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

AU161626 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85)  
pp 110-116

[Article by Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen]

[Text] An account of the foreign policy of Democratic Yemen must begin with the moment when our country won national independence in 1967 after 129 years of British colonial rule, with the moment when we began making revolutionary changes, which have characterized and continue to characterize the progressive national regime in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY).

In this connection we can say with full justification that the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which signified the beginning of the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, and also the victory over fascism, the 40th anniversary of which was recently marked by the whole of progressive mankind and in the achievement of which a decisive role was played by the Soviet Union, have had a great influence on colonial peoples and have helped to widen their national liberation struggle against colonialism and exploitation. In this struggle they have relied on the firm, principled support of the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community and all forces of freedom, progress and peace, which has made it possible for many peoples to gain national independence and free themselves from the colonial oppression of imperialism. Taking this into account alone, one can thoroughly understand the meaning of our country's participation, and also that of many other independent peoples, in the numerous measures dedicated to celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism.

The Yemeni people did not reconcile themselves to the domination of the British colonizers who occupied our country in 1839. In various regions of the country there were actions by the working people and also tribal unrest and all kinds of political groups and organizations were set up which set themselves the aim of struggling against the colonial authorities and their accomplices.

On 14 October 1963, under the leadership of the National Front, our people were able to begin an armed revolution against British domination, and on 30



November 1967, having expelled the colonizers, they gained national independence.

During the national liberation struggle for independence the National Front, as the main driving force of the armed struggle, adopted the National Charter at its first congress in June 1965, which revealed its stand on international issues. The nature of the document reflected the ideological-political level of the front's leadership and of its main cadres of that period. The Charter stated that the aims, for the fulfillment of which revolution was being waged at a national level, must definitely serve as a guideline for all our people's international relations. It was also pointed out that support for revolutionary national liberation movements throughout the world waging a struggle against colonialism and imperialism is a historical task and an inalienable feature of any progressive people's revolution.

After the achievement of national independence PDRY foreign policy passed through several stages.

As is well-known, from 30 November 1967 to 22 June 1969 a right-wing trend predominated in the leadership of the National Front. It strove to prevent revolutionary democratic changes and to preserve the old socioeconomic relations. In alliance with the leadership of the armed forces it was able to strike a severe blow to the left-wing both in the National Front and within the ranks of the Yemeni national movement. This happened as a result of the military coup on 20 March 1968 led by an American military attache. This development of events was also reflected in the sphere of foreign policy, when the right wing in power pursued a course of rapprochement with reactionary regimes and with neocolonizer, imperialist states, not wishing to establish and develop relations with the countries of the socialist community.

The struggle to remove the right wing from government of the country was stubborn and consistent. Left-wing forces in the National Front succeeded in achieving this on 22 June 1969. They acted while relying on the support of other detachments of the national patriotic movement, including the Popular Democratic Union, the Popular Vanguard Party and all the working masses of the Yemeni people. As a result the PDRY entered a new stage, the stage of implementing a whole series of revolutionary democratic changes aimed both at liquidating semifeudal and comprador forces and at curtailing the activities of foreign banks and companies. Agrarian reform was carried out, state farms and cooperatives were set up in rural areas and a state sector formed in the economy. The ideas of scientific socialism were rapidly disseminated within the ranks of the Political Organization National Front (PONF), although even during this period actions took place of an extremely left-wing nature both in the agrarian-production sphere, when the principle of free will was ignored with regard to entering agricultural production cooperatives, and in the question of attitude toward the private sector or the nationalization of a large part of small-scale trade, and in other spheres. All this led to a distortion of the correct interpretation of the essence of socialism among the country's citizens. Ideological work on the basis of scientific socialism was also not free of the petty bourgeois trend of rushing ahead which, in its turn, could not help but reflect on PDRY foreign policy in that period, a period characterized by tension and semi-isolation.

The PONF Program adopted at the 5th Congress in March 1972 noted that "the socialist camp, the workers class, and the national liberation movement...are the main driving forces of our era." The program characterized the contemporary era, from the viewpoint of its historical essence, as "the era of socialist revolution and its triumph not only in one country,...the era of upsurge in the national liberation movement, the collapse of the world colonial system, and the beginning of the stage of socialist revolution for the majority of peoples in the world,...the era of the collapse of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism and the victory of socialism on a worldwide scale."

The program pointed out that "Democratic Yemen regards the socialist camp as its revolutionary ally and strives to develop the closest possible relations with it."

All this reflected the level reached in mastering the theory of scientific socialism and attested to reliance on this theory in the development of the PDRY's foreign policy course. At the same time it is very clear that knowledge in this sphere, despite its principled strategic significance, was still inadequate, scholastic and not backed up by mature interpretation of the basics of scientific socialism and its rich theoretical legacy applicable to real practice. As a result the view of reality was somewhat distorted and embellished, and objective facts were incorrectly utilized in the course of the practical implementation of a series of measures, which inevitably affected the foreign policy of Democratic Yemen.

During this period representatives of the extreme left-wing course continued to regard development of relations with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community with apprehension. This apprehension led them to the idea of "balancing" relations with the two world systems--socialism and capitalism--and even to arranging contacts with reactionary regimes. This policy in many ways reflected the personal convictions of individual figures, and also the correlation of forces within the leading PONF organs.

During this period an important process was taking place in the PDRY, a process of gradually evolving dialogue between the three detachments of the national patriotic movement (the National Front, the Popular Democratic Union and the Popular Vanguard Party) on their unity within the framework of a unified political organization. The dialogue helped to clarify the program documents of these detachments and also to overcome and amend many extreme left-wing ideas and measures, which was reflected in the materials of the 6th PONF Congress (1975), particularly in the sphere of foreign policy, and also in the program of the United Political Organization National Front (UPONF), formed in the same year and uniting in its ranks all three detachments of the national patriotic movement. These documents were indicated in the Program of the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP), adopted at its first congress in October 1978, and their formulations were clarified, thereby becoming clearer and more mature.

The defeat of the extreme left-wing trend within the ranks of the UPONF on 26 June 1978, this trend later assuming the nature of right-wing pragmatism, was

of particular, exceptional significance; it helped to turn the UPONF into a new type of revolutionary party--today the Yemeni Socialist Party [YSP]--which is guided by the principles and aims of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism and which we consider to be the main guarantor of stable development in the revolutionary democratic process in the PDRY. As a consequence of this, foreign policy has also been brought into line with our principled and steady adherence to scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The YSP program defines our tasks and aims in the sphere of foreign policy and international relations as follows: "The aim of the foreign policy of the party and state is to create favorable foreign policy conditions for successfully implementing the Party Program, in particular in the sphere of completing the fulfillment of the tasks of the stage of national democratic revolution by the working people of Democratic Yemen and strengthening combat solidarity with the revolutionary movement of Arab peoples in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for national liberation and social progress, for the expansion and intensification of relations of cooperation with the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union, the consolidation of international relations with the international workers movement under the leadership of its vanguard parties and the strengthening of unity with people's revolutionary struggle for national liberation, social progress and the defense of peace. Its aim is also energetic activity to implement and observe the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems and to develop normal relations with all states in the region on the basis of noninterference in internal affairs and respect for national sovereignty."

On the basis of this clear definition of the aims and principles of our foreign policy, relations between the PDRY party and government and various detachments of the world revolutionary movement have steadily developed; by relying on the principle of peaceful coexisting relations with various social regimes have been considerably expanded and deepened.

Preparing for the 3rd YSP Congress which, it has been decided, will be held in October this year, we can express great satisfaction with the degree of fulfillment of those tasks which our party has set in the sphere of foreign policy.

As far as relations between Democratic Yemen and the countries of the socialist community are concerned, in this matter the YSP and our country proceed from the precise definition of the nature of these relations given in the Party Program, where it is stated that "in the sphere of relations with the world socialist community the party is guided by the community of basic, principled aims in the struggle for economic development, social progress and the people's well-being, for the support of national liberation movements, against the aggressive plans of imperialism and for peace throughout the world."

It is on this basis that mutual relations between the YSP and communist and workers parties in the countries of the socialist community, and all communist and workers parties of the world have developed and strengthened.

There is a regular exchange of party, state and social delegations and an exchange of visits at a high level, in the course of which the sides' positions and viewpoints on issues of mutual interest are discussed and experience exchanged. Our party is given assistance in the preparation and training of party cadres.

The states of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union give the PDRY valuable assistance both in strengthening and consolidating our defense capabilities and in creating the foundations of the national economy, training national cadres and resolving the problems of social and cultural development.

Many important projects in industry and agriculture carried out in our country and thousands of national specialists working in various branches of social production--all this is the result of the friendship and steadily developing cooperation between the PDRY and the USSR and other socialist states. One would like to particularly point out the disinterested and valuable assistance given us by the friendly Soviet Union in the sphere of oil prospecting and the extraction of useful minerals, which in many ways will help to overcome difficulties in developing the PDRY's national economy, and also to strengthen the positions and role of the state and cooperative sectors, which will make it possible to fully resolve the tasks of further developing the revolutionary democratic process now in progress in Democratic Yemen.

There is no doubt that these principled, constantly deepening and expanding relations have made a real, concrete contribution to the development and consolidation of our revolutionary experience and our steadfastness in the face of dangers and conspiracies from outside, which are aimed at liquidating the progressive regime in Democratic Yemen, establishing imperialist domination in the region, and posing a threat to its security and stability. These relations have been given a high appraisal by our country's popular masses struggling to form a free and happy society.

In this respect it is essential to also point out the coincidence of positions of our party and country and those of the USSR and other states of the socialist community on the most important international issues of the contemporary era. Representatives of the PDRY and socialist countries coordinate their actions and cooperate in international organizations in the work of which our countries jointly participate. Democratic Yemen supports all efforts and initiatives aimed at preserving peace, preventing the unleashing of a nuclear world war and halting the arms race, and those directed against spreading this arms race to outer space or returning to "cold war" times. The PDRY is in favor of counteracting any forms of the aggressive policies of world imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, which encroaches on people's national independence and strives on an ever greater scale to rob them of their wealth, interfere in their internal affairs, force its domination and its military presence on them and revive the policy of open colonialism. Our country actively struggles against attempts by imperialist forces to spread hotbeds of tension in various regions of the world, resort to armed aggression against progressive national governments, the activities of which are not to their taste, conduct a policy of "the carrot and the stick,"

and watch over dictatorial repressive regimes hostile to the interests and aspirations of their peoples.

International relations, friendly ties and cooperation between the YSP and PDRY and the DPRK, Kampuchea, Laos and Democratic Afghanistan are steadily developing and growing stronger. Our party highly values its stable, constantly expanding relations with the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia. At the same time relations of friendship and cooperation on a state level are growing stronger between the PDRY and socialist Ethiopia, whose peoples are waging a common struggle against imperialism and reaction and for the development of their countries along a socialist path.

Relations between the YSP and the PDRY and democratic, progressive forces and regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America are growing stronger. As far as the question of establishing and developing close relations with forces of liberation and progress on these three continents is concerned, our party, as is emphasized in the program, proceeds from the fact that "the unity of the democratic national liberation movement...and its cohesion with the countries of the socialist community are a historical necessity and a condition of definitively liquidating the domination of colonialism and imperialism in all its forms and all their racist strongholds."

The YSP has been able to establish bilateral relations with a large number of communist and workers parties in West European countries, in particular with Greece, Portugal, France, Cyprus, Spain and Great Britain. We strive to develop these relations on the correct class foundations in order to jointly struggle against capitalism, imperialism, Zionism and racism. Our party believes--and this is recorded in its program--that "the strength of the international workers movement and of its vanguard parties gives it unity," which is why the YSP "urges consolidation of this unity and does everything necessary for this, and why it determinedly opposes everything that could weaken this unity or affect its essence, which is based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and the ideology of the workers class."

Implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence, the PDRY has established bilateral relations with many West European capitalist states and with various African and Asian countries, while proceeding in this respect from mutual interests and mutual benefit and working on the basis of the principle of respect for sovereignty and noninterference in one another's internal affairs.

In the Arab region our party and state devote particular attention to strengthening relations with progressive Arab liberation forces and patriotic regimes opposed to imperialism, Zionism and reaction. The YSP has developed relations with the Syrian Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, the Algerian National Liberation Front, communist and workers parties and a number of Arab national and patriotic organizations. Our party persistently and consistently acts in the name of "the real combat unity between all Arab revolutionary forces opposed to the plans of imperialism, Zionism and reaction which are directed against our Arab nation." Democratic Yemen has bilateral relations at various levels with all Arab member countries of the Arab League. The PDY has overcome many difficulties in establishing these relations, particularly with some states in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula. As a result,

our country, particularly recently, has been able to establish diplomatic relations with Oman, Bahrain and Qatar, whereas before the PDRY only had bilateral relations with two countries in this region--Kuwait and United Arab Emirates. Relations have also been established with Saudi Arabia. Our relations with these countries are based on respect of sovereignty, noninterference in one another's internal affairs, bilateral mutually advantageous cooperation and the resolving of all disputes between states by peaceful means.

We are very well aware of the fact that strengthening the PDRY's defense capabilities, determinedly defending our national independence and sovereignty, preserving national democratic achievements, consolidating the country's progressive course and ensuring friendship and cooperation between Democratic Yemen and the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community--all this will definitely lead to implementing a policy of peaceful coexistence in the PDRY's relations with states in the region. Despite the limited nature of our bilateral cooperation with these states, what has already been achieved in this sphere we consider to be an important step forward in comparison to the level of relations which existed with them earlier.

In the present situation which has taken shape in the Arab world, the YSP expends tireless effort to coordinate actions and cooperation between anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist patriotic regimes so that they can take common stands on topical political problems of the region. This primarily applies to the struggle against the conspiracy of imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces in the Arab East in any of its forms, a conspiracy aimed at dooming to failure the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine and, first and foremost, at wrecking the realization of their right to form an independent state on the territory of their motherland; a conspiracy directed against the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and also against patriotic regimes and all Arab forces of liberation and progress. A component part of this conspiracy is the propagation of the American administration's plans in the region, such as the Camp David agreements, the "Reagan Plan," and other similar infamous "initiatives" expected to ensure Arab capitulation to imperialism and Zionism.

Our party constantly points out the necessity to ensure all-Arab solidarity of an anti-imperialist, anti-zionist nature and emphasizes the necessity to adhere to the decisions of the top-level all-Arab conference held in Fez, and in particular the Arab plan for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict. In this connection the YSP also urges Arab countries to jointly and officially approve Soviet proposals for a Middle East settlement, which include holding an international conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO, with the aim of reaching a comprehensive, just settlement in the Middle East, the basis of which would be fulfillment of the Arab people of Palestine's right to self-determination and the formation of their own independent state on the soil of their motherland.

The YSP has expended extremely great effort to restore the unity of PLO ranks and to overcome the threat of a split in the Palestinian resistance movement. We support any actions on the part of Palestinian progressive patriotic forces

in this direction in the name of restoring their unity within the framework of the PLO on the basis of the Aden-Algiers agreements, which confirmed the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist patriotic course of the PLO.

The YSP also supports all steps aimed at forming broad national-patriotic fronts in Arab countries and in the Arab world as a whole, which would help to intensify the struggle of Arab peoples and of their progressive liberation forces against conspiracies and any forms of imperialism's military presence in the region, in the name of preserving the national independence of Arab countries, for democratic freedoms and total fulfillment of the tasks of liberation, for social progress and for the sake of consolidating Arab-Soviet friendship, which our party regards as a necessary and important condition of strengthening the Arabs' stability and wrecking all the anti-Arab conspiracies of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

We express complete confidence in the fact that the 3rd YSP Congress will set the tasks of its foreign policy course for the forthcoming period on the basis of creative application of the principles of international solidarity and peaceful coexistence. There is no doubt that the resolutions of the congress will help to strengthen relations between our party and state and all Arab progressive liberation forces and also all detachments of the world revolutionary movement headed by the friendly Soviet Union--the strategic ally of our revolution and the people of the Democratic Yemen, other Arab peoples and all peoples struggling for peace, freedom and social progress.

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CSO: 1802/16-F

## ON THE PATH OF HEROIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85) pp 117-121

[Review by Yu. Kukushkin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, of the book "Istoriya Sovetskogo Rabochego Klassa" [History of the Soviet Working Class], in six volumes. Vol 1: "Rabochiy Klass v Oktyabrskoy Revolyutsii i na Zashchite Eye Zavoyevaniy 1917-1920 Gg." [The Working Class in the October Revolution and the Defense of Its Achievements 1917-1920]. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 495 pp]

[Text] The history of the Soviet working class--the vanguard detachment of the world workers movement, led by the Leninist Bolshevik Party--having paved the road to socialism for the first time in the world--invariably draws attention to itself for the richness and variety of its accumulated experience.

In October 1917, having seized governmental power and having established the dictatorship and the proletariat and defended the world's first state of workers and peasants in the civil war and the foreign military intervention, the working class of the land of the soviets put an end to its economic backwardness in an unprecedentedly short time, reached the leading edge of industrial and scientific and technical progress, completed the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, was in the front ranks of those who, by feats of arms and dedicated labor ensured victory in the Great Patriotic War, acts as the leading force of Soviet society in its present stage of development and advancement. The leading role of the communist party--the political vanguard of the working class--has been a decisive factor in all our successes.

The study of the history of the Soviet working class allows deeper and more comprehensive realization of its determining role in the building of a new society, retracing its conversion into a qualitatively new socialist working class, and bringing out and interpreting the development trends which determine the further enhancement of its role as the leading class in a time when the party is resolving most important problems concerning the qualitative transformation of all aspects of social life in the USSR. Today, V. I. Lenin's words resound with particular emphasis: "For conscious workers there is no more important task than that of studying the progress of one's own



class, its nature, its objectives and tasks, its conditions and practical forms" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 25, p 244).

Soviet historians have accomplished a great deal in studying the path covered by the country's working class. Problems of methodology and methods of research of its history were developed quite efficiently. Comprehensive works covering significant time setments and a number of problems have been written, along with works on specific issues. Hundreds of collective and individual monographs and thousands of articles have been published. The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of USSR History has prepared a comprehensive work on the history of the Soviet working class, based on a great deal of research.

Just off the press, the first volume of this fundamental publication reflects the most important turning point in the history of our homeland and the Soviet working class--the initial stage of the transition from capitalism to socialism when, having ensured the victory of the Great October Revolution and established its rule, the Russian proletariat, led by Lenin's party, defended it in the struggle against domestic and foreign counterrevolution and undertook to lay the foundation for socialism.

The main editorial collegium and the group of authors, the book notes, "set themselves the task of identifying the general laws and characteristics of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1917, the conversion of the Russian proletariat into the working class of Soviet society, and the growth of its leading role at different stages of building socialism and communism, based on summations of available scientific publications and new documents, including unpublished ones, and the study of historical events" (p 16).

The unquestionable merit of the work under consideration is that it encompasses a study of the history of the working class as the leading force and direct creator of the socialist revolution in Russia with a study of the "internal status" of the proletariat in a period "most important to its historical destinies"--quantitative and qualitative changes, structure, organization, working and living conditions and the growth of political consciousness and culture. Such an approach to the history of the Soviet working class, prepared on the basis of the latest achievements of domestic science, reflects a noteworthy trend of recent years: that of bringing historiography closer to man, his spiritual aspect and daily life.

The authors show that the decisive trend in the activities of the working class in Soviet Russia was determined by fundamental laws governing the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, for which reason its historical experience is exceptionally valuable. The significance of this experience is determined by the fact that under conditions of a continuously expanding world revolutionary process, when huge masses of people became involved in the struggle for peace and socialism, the communist and worker parties face the task of comprehensively contributing to the "conscious choice of ways, means and methods of struggle, able to give the greatest and strongest results with the least expenditure of force" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 9, p 208).

Facts cited in the book convincingly testify to the inconsistency of attempts by bourgeois historiography to depict the October Revolution as a "revolution of the minority," carried out in a "backward" country, thus questioning the universal nature of the October Revolution experience, the possibility for its use by the proletariat of industrially developed countries. At the beginning of the socialist revolution, the proletariat (without their families) indeed accounted for slightly more than 10 percent of the Russian population. However, as the authors show, the issue of the majority in the revolution can in no way be reduced to the question of the size of its hegemony. The seizure and retention of power, the successful transition to socialism, the proletariat does not have to account in the least for an absolute majority of the population, notwithstanding what Kautsky claimed in his day. In fact, albeit desirable, this is not at all a necessary condition for victory. "...Historically," Lenin emphasized, "it is the class that can lead the mass of the population which wins" (op. cit., vol 39, p 351). Therefore the main, basic conditions for success of a socialist revolution are the organization and unity of the proletariat and the presence of a conscious vanguard within it: a communist party and the ability of the working class to express the basic interests of all working people. In the course of the revolution, without this even the class which comprises the majority of the population, as is proved by the experience of all socialist revolutions which either succeeded or suffered a temporary defeat, inevitably turns out to be as though "in the minority."

"What to do, if power has been assumed by the proletariat in a country in which the urban proletariat is a minority and the majority are peasants, accustomed to farming alone, thoroughly accustomed to individual farming?" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 38, p 61).

The authors faced a difficult task: to describe the objective reasons for the hegemony of the proletariat in the preparation and conduct of the socialist revolution, the role of proletarian organizations in the mobilization of the various detachments of the working class in the struggle to overthrow the bourgeois provisional government and to identify the forms and methods of political leadership of the working class by the Bolshevik Party.

The objective factor of proletarian hegemony was its structure and concentration in the large plants in the country's industrial centers, which made it possible for the Party to do political work here. Up to 62.2 percent of all industrial workers were concentrated in the three regions of the country considered most important from an economic and political point of view: the central industrial, northwestern and southern areas. In turn, the core of this army of the proletarian revolution consisted of metalworkers--the most conscious and politically mature vanguard detachment of the Russian industrial proletariat. It was precisely the metalworkers, employed at the largest metallurgical and machine-building plants, who carried along other detachments of the working class, who maintained stronger ties with the countryside, with their revolutionary energy, and who furthered the involvement of the poorest peasantry in the revolutionary struggle by means of these strata (textile workers, tanners, woodworkers).

The political leadership of the proletariat by the Marxist party of a new type had a determining significance. In the historically distinctive conditions of specific Russian reality this party managed to apply the basic Marxist concepts in practice and to develop a scientific program for socialist revolution and a proletarian hegemony within it. Under the leadership of the Leninist party, the proletariat was able to rally the various strata of working people, to direct into the revolutionary channel the national liberation movement of oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement for peace, and involve the soldiers' masses at the front and the rear in the struggle. Clear proof of this were the soviets of soldiers' deputies and soviets of peasants' deputies, in the model and similarity of the soviets of workers' deputies created by the revolutionary creativity of the proletariat itself. It was precisely the soviets which became the foundation of the new form of government power.

The most important manifestation of proletarian hegemony is its ideological class resistance to pseudosocialist theories thrust upon it by the petit bourgeois parties, its relentless struggle against opportunism, compromise and the reformism of petit bourgeois parties of the mensheviks and the S.R., and the solid ideological unity in the struggle against bourgeois ideology and the carriers of its influence. In the end, the Russian proletariat was able to act in the political arena as a monolithic, well-organized and mature political force.

The book describes in detail, with the help of specific historical data, the basic functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, established as a result of the October Revolution: a particular form of the class alliance between the working class and the nonproletariat working masses with the leading role of the proletariat and its vanguard, the communist party. In presenting the Leninist doctrine of the proletariat dictatorship, the authors emphasize its historically legitimate place in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, as a dictatorship aimed against exploiters, and the beginning of genuine democracy for the toiling masses. The Leninist concepts of the decisive significance of the economic and organizational function of the proletarian dictatorship in the transitional period is justly accentuated. The guiding and leading role of the communist party in the proletarian dictatorship system as the pivot of all society's political systems is particularly emphasized.

As shown in the book, the political leadership of society through a system of government bodies and social organizations of the working people by the vanguard working class party does not exclude the possibility of involving nonproletarian democratic parties in the administration of the state, providing that they acknowledge the leading role of the communist party and express readiness to participate in socialist changes. The issue of a multiparty or single-party system is resolved in each country according to its specific historical conditions. We know that the Bolshevik Party displayed the maximum flexibility in its policy relative to the nonproletarian parties.

The entire specific historical experience of the Russian proletariat and the organization of proletarian power in Soviet Russia after the October Revolution refutes the false claims of bourgeois and social reformist

ideologues that the proletariat dictatorship is supposedly reduced to communist party dictatorship, which excludes nonproletarian parties from participation in government. This is convincingly confirmed also by the comprehensive historical experience of other countries of victorious socialism.

The authors convincingly identify the role of the workers' class in forming the new state power bodies and their decisive impact in building national and state government and in the unification of previously oppressed peoples.

The working class, headed by the Bolshevik Party, boldly undertook the creation of a new governmental apparatus. Workers moved from the machine tool up to the country's leadership. "The leading role of the working class in all levels of the governmental apparatus," the book states, "consisted above all in the fact that the envoys of the workers firmly and consistently implemented the communist party's program in their activities. The progressive workers brought into the activities of the state authorities and state management the best qualities of their class: revolutionary experience, decisiveness, consistency, persistence in resolving all problems and discipline. That is why it was so important for the Soviet state apparatus to employ as many workers as possible" (p 349).

An extensive study is provided in the book of changes in the working and living conditions of the working class as a result of the victory of the socialist revolution, the trade union, women's and youth movements and international relations among workers in Soviet Russia.

We are familiar with the general sociological law that as the historical creativity of the people expands and intensifies so does the size of the population mass which acts as a conscious historical activist (see V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 2, pp 539-540). It is on the basis of the specific historical interpretation of this law that the authors analyze the way in which the reorganization of the social activities of the working class in Soviet Russia itself changed. This process was quite complex and contradictory. The shaping of a new, a collectivistic mentality and mastering a communist outlook did not follow a straight line. For example, after the revolution, occasionally the backward segment of the workers displayed anarchic and grubbing feelings. Many workers who had come to industry from the countryside in World War interpreted the freedom proclaimed by the revolution as anarchy and freedom from all discipline. It is indicative that the workers themselves--the most progressive and conscientious members of their class--firmly rebuffed such moods. It was on their initiative that rules and regulations of internal order, which called for firm discipline, were drafted; it was they who initiated the communist subbotniks and other labor initiatives which were born in the course of the daily practical activities of the masses. Suggestions were formulated and decisions made at worker meetings and trade union committee sessions on improving production organization and ensuring the maximal utilization of working time.

The communist parties had to struggle with petit bourgeois oscillations among the backward workers. Such was the case, for example, at the end of 1920. The view, widespread at that time, that the moment the guns start firing a

drastic improvement in living conditions would take place clashed with harsh economic reality. Dislocation, food shortages and worker fatigue after 7 years of imperialist and civil war became nutritive grounds for outbreaks of petit bourgeois moods. However, even under such exceptionally complex conditions, as the authors emphasize, the progressive segment of the working class, rallied around the communist party, rebuffed the petit bourgeois element and retained its ideological firmness.

In the course of the political education of the working class the party also surmounted various manifestations of the "infantile 'leftist' disease," and feelings of "revolutionary romanticism." The progressive workers, who were totally dedicated to the Soviet system and the Leninist party and who were ready for most decisive action for the sake of building socialism, were frequently subject to the influence of "war-communism" concepts. Some communist workers, for example, wanted the immediate destruction of the old way of life, which still rested on real socioeconomic foundations; they wanted to create a new "communist" but, in fact, equalizing, way of life and to put an end to illiteracy, religious faith, and so on, in one fell swoop, through shock administrative methods.

Despite the numerous problems and difficulties, in the course of the revolution and the civil war, as the authors convincingly prove, the working class displayed a high degree of political maturity. It grew intemperate in the struggle. It was precisely at that time that a process of molding the social aspect of the working class in the socialist society was initiated: the level of organization, unity and political consciousness of the working class increased; the number of workers-communists increased; a gradual psychological shift took place concerning labor; proletariat internationalism and socialist patriotism developed. The high political consciousness of the progressive strata of the working class was manifested in its unparalleled heroism at the front and the year and the mass joining of the party at times of most decisive and harsh trials. It was thus that in the course of a tense class struggle the working class not only changed the social reality surrounding it but itself as well.

In our days the creation of fundamental history works is not a fashion but an imperative of the time, a manifestation of the spiritual maturity of Soviet society, its intensified interest in itself and its growing self-awareness. Like any comprehensive study, this work could be considered an important landmark in historiography: in summing up the results of long years of work, it contains a kernel of future research, following traditional historiographic trends and opening and defining new ones. Therefore, the publication of the first of this six-volume work on the history of the Soviet working class enables us to raise the question of the trend which will be followed in the further study of the problem, the possible lines to be followed in methodological research and specific historical developments.

The main difficulty currently encountered by historians dealing with this problem is the translation into the language of specific historical research of the general theoretical stipulation that, as the world changes, so do the people. The method of analysis and the principles governing the presentation of the material chosen by the authors (the first six chapters deal with the

stages in the revolutionary-transforming activities of the working class while the final seventh chapter discusses sociopolitical changes in its structure) are a reflection of the achievements and difficulties facing contemporary historiography. This approach enables us to consider the sociopolitical changes in the working class above all as a result of revolutionary changes although it somewhat restricts the analysis of the interaction and interweaving of such processes. Yet, as the authors themselves emphasize, the continuing sociopolitical development of the working class was not only a result but a mandatory prerequisite for successful revolutionary action.

At critical times the working class has always found within itself new forces ready for the struggle; members of the working class who, only yesterday, were "backward" and "unconscientious" steadily turned into progressive and convinced fighters; the masses steadily reinforced the vanguard and the ratio among the different sociopsychological types in the worker environment changed. The study of the complex dialectics and the historical laws governing this process, rather than simply the presentation of its results, requires perfecting the methodological tools used and the search for new approaches to the specific historical study of the problem. Possibly, it is those same methodological and methodical searches which will determine the further development of historiography. The first volume of the "History of the Soviet Working Class" lays a good foundation for such work.

This book is also of great importance to the history of the global workers' movement. The scientific study of the history of the Soviet working class is a priceless treasury of historical experience for the workers in the fraternal socialist countries, who are struggling to protect the gains of socialism and for the full and definitive victory of socialist relations in town and country.

The history of the Soviet working class is of invaluable importance also to the proletariat of the developed capitalist and the developing countries. It convincingly proves the manner in which, despite most severe casualties and privations experienced by the working people in the land of the soviets in the struggle against the class enemy and imperialist aggression, and in the course of building socialism, the working class, allied with the toiling peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, guided by the Leninist party, created the first society of real socialism in the world, practically implementing the age-old expectations and aspirations of mankind for social justice. As the authors emphasize, the "extremely rich experience of the Russian working class, acquired in the course of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the military defense of its gains, has served and continues to serve the cause of the international proletariat. The proletariat of all countries can see in this experience a model for strategy and tactics of revolutionary struggle, drawing confidence in the inevitability of the victory of the socialist revolutions in all countries" (p 397).

Unquestionably, the book meets the strict contemporary scientific criteria. At the same time, it is distinguished by the good presentation of the material

addressed at the broad readership circles. Let us particularly note the excellent scientific apparatus of the publication, which includes annotations, a chronicle of events, bibliography and an appendix and index of names. This work marks the successful beginning of the entire six-volume series.

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## DIALECTICS OF THE REVOLUTION AND COUNTERREVOLUTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85) pp 121-123

[Review by Ye. Chekharin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, of the books (1) "Marksizm-Leninizm o Dialektike Revolyutsii i Kontrrevolyutsii. Iz Opyta Borby s Kontrrevolyutsiyey i Sovremennost" [Marxism-Leninism on the Dialectics of Revolution and Counterrevolution. From the Experience in the Struggle Against the Counterrevolution and Contemporaneity]. CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. M. P. Mchedlov head of editorial collegium. Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, 382 pp; (2) N. V. Zagladin. "V Pogone za Nedostizhimym. Strategiya i Taktika Imperialisticheskoy Kontrrevolyutsii: Neizbezhnost Provala" [In Pursuit of the Unattainable. Strategy and Tactics of the Imperialist Counterrevolution: The Inevitability of Failure]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, 192 pp]

[Text] By discovering and scientifically substantiating the objective laws governing the replacement of one socioeconomic system with another, Marx, Engels and Lenin proved that the new, communist system can be established only as a result of the class struggle of the working people and their selfless efforts to build a new society. The Great October Socialist Revolution radically altered the subsequent course of events of our society and had a tremendous impact on the fate of universal history. Today real socialism has become a most important factor in world development. The attractiveness of its example and historical experience, tested by life, are increasing steadily.

The establishment of the world socialist system, the emergence of tens of countries standing on anti-imperialist positions and the growth of the liberation and antiwar movements have qualitatively changed the ratio of socioclass forces in the world. The imperialist reactionary circles are using all available opportunities to hinder the course of social development or even to try to turn it back. With the help of all available means, the reactionary forces are prepared to commit and, as recent events have confirmed, do commit any kind of crime against mankind, trampling, as Marx said, "the simple laws of morality and justice" for the sake of preserving their domination and block progress.



The importance of the scientific development of the problems of revolution and counterrevolution, the identification of the social foundations of counterrevolution under different historical conditions, the analysis of its nature and tactics and the study of the conditions for waging a successful struggle against it are determined by the struggle against reactionary intrigues and imperialism's counterrevolutionary actions.

These are the problems discussed in the collective work (1), prepared by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism and in N. V. Zagladin's monograph (2).

The first part of (1) studies the struggle waged by the proletariat against the various counterrevolutionary forces during the 19th century revolutions (the revolutions of 1848-1849, the Paris Commune) and the revolutions of the period of imperialism (the Russian bourgeois democratic revolutions of 1905-1907, the February 1917 revolution and, particularly, the Great October Socialist Revolution).

The authors discuss in detail Marx's and Engels' fundamental ideas on the struggle against counterrevolutions which, under the new historical conditions, became the starting point for Lenin's development of the theory of the socialist revolution. They convincingly describe the universal historical significance of the experience acquired in the course of the struggle waged by the Russian working class under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party in the three revolutions and the routing of the domestic and foreign counterrevolutions during the period of foreign intervention and civil war.

The second section of the monograph contains a profound scientific analysis of the problems of the confrontation between revolutions and counterrevolutions today. It convincingly proves that any type of illusions on the part of revolutionary forces concerning the possibility of avoiding a confrontation with the counterrevolution by virtue of one national feature or another are fraught with major failures.

The contemporary counterrevolution has many faces. It operates under many slogans and is able to conceal its objectives. The book describes in specific terms the important observation made by Marx and Engels themselves that almost always, particularly in the initial stages in its development, the counterrevolution tries to wrap itself in someone else's garb and pretend to be the defender of order, the savior of society from anarchy and, sometimes, even the defender of national interests. Its essence, however, does not change: it is the aspiration forcefully to prevent the revolutionary reorganization of society and the development of the revolutionary movement. In this case, although the revolutionary forces in the individual countries must confront a variety of "their own" counterrevolution in the national arena (feudal, bourgeois, petit bourgeois), in our epoch, in the majority of cases the counterrevolutionary activities are directly guided and coordinated by imperialism, U. S. imperialism above all.

Presently the trend of counterrevolution has become a permanent factor which influences imperialist policy. This thought is clearly apparent in (2). The author points out that counterrevolutionary trends which influence the foreign

and domestic policies of imperialist states are not without substance. They reflect the interest of the monopoly bourgeoisie in preserving its power and influence, and restoring them wherever they have been lost.

In resorting to various counterrevolutionary actions, the ruling circles of the imperialist states perceive the situation in the world and the ratio of forces in the international arena through the lens of the interests of "their own" and the multinational bourgeoisie and, as a rule, "prove unable to commensurate its class objectives with its available capabilities. It is this that determines the adventurist nature of imperialist counterrevolutionary policy, making it particularly dangerous to peace and mankind" (p 180). Furthermore, imperialism has gained substantial experience in the struggle against revolutions, using both naked violence and more flexible means of "destabilizing" the economic and political situation in the countries which have become targets of its counterrevolutionary aspirations. Imperialism tries to use any changes occurring in the world, including those adverse to it, in such a way as to set the prerequisites for its subsequent counteroffensive. Particular efforts are made to formulate a unified strategy for the capitalist world in the struggle against revolutions.

The author pays great attention to the study of the reasons for the changes in imperialist policy in the 1970s-1980s and to factors which caused the conversion of U. S. imperialism to attempts to mount a frontal offensive against the forces of the global revolutionary process. With the help of extensive factual data he refutes conjectures to the effect that such a shift was a response to "subversive actions" on the part of the USSR and its allies.

Both works, which aptly supplement each other, are attempts at developing a classification of counterrevolutions. They note, in particular, that under the influence of past defeats, imperialism not merely responds to revolutionary explosions in one country or another with a counterrevolution but tries to prevent them. This is accomplished with the help of an entire series of steps which include repressive measures taken against progressive forces as well as partial concessions to the demands of the masses and ideological and political maneuvers aimed at weakening the communist movement.

The mass information media, which exert a direct ideological pressure on the masses in convincing them of the absence of any positive alternative to capitalism and discrediting the socialist ideals, play a special role in this respect. These steps, the purpose of which is to prevent the raising of a political army for the socialist revolution, are an indication of the significantly increased complexity of the dialectics of revolution and counterrevolution.

Both works pay great attention to the identification of the objective and subjective reasons for the outbreak of crises and the energizing of the counterrevolutions which took place in the course of building socialism in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and of the social foundations for counterrevolutions and the criminal role played by American imperialism as the strike force and inspiration of international reaction. The works extensively deal with summing up the experience of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries in defeating the forces of the counterrevolution.

The discussion of the extent of the influence of the counterrevolution on a segment of the working class in said countries contained in (1) is of particular interest. The work emphasizes in this connection that "in a country which is building socialism there neither is nor could there be any long-term firm foundation for a shift of the workers to the counterrevolutionary camp. The falling of some workers under the influence of counterrevolutionary forces is not a natural phenomenon of the new system but a consequence of the development of a special set of circumstances" (p 377).

The objective reasons for a counterrevolution and its social base and the clarification of circumstances contributory to the implementation of reactionary plans are analyzed throughout (1) with the help of extensive factual data. The authors, who provide a comprehensive analysis of the situation and the conclusions of the founders of Marxism-Leninism on the possibilities and means of preventing the victory of the counterrevolution, draw the following conclusion themselves: "The high degree of assimilation of Marxist-Leninist theory by the masses, their organization and unity and the scientific strategy and tactics of the proletarian parties create prerequisites for the prevention of the counterrevolution or for its defeat will the least possible casualties" (p 5).

In considering the international aspects of the struggle against the imperialist counterrevolution, the author of (2) notes that the policies of the countries of real socialism, supported by all democratic and peace-loving forces, assume a key role. On the one hand, they are aimed at rebuffing imperialist interventionism and, on the other, at ensuring the radical restructuring of the system of international relations on the basis of the principles of humanism, peaceful and mutually profitable cooperation among countries with different social systems and respect for the right of any nation to choose its own way of development without foreign interference.

Anticommunism and anti-Sovietism are the poisonous weapons of the counterrevolution in the struggle not only against the communist movement but also against all progressive forces. In underscoring this idea, both books convincingly prove that the ideological struggle for the purity of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, against all varieties of slandering real socialism and the communist movement, firm reliance on the tried principles of proletarian internationalism and international revolutionary cohesion are integral and important elements of the successful counteraction to counterrevolutionary intentions.

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CSO: 1802/16

## FRIENDS' EXPERIENCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85) pp 123-125

[Review by V. Kuzmenko of the book "Khozyaystvennyy Mekhanizm v Stranakh-Chlenakh SEV" [The Economic Mechanism in CEMA Member Countries]. A reference book. O. A. Chukanov responsible editor. Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, 300 pp]

[Text] The CEMA community has acquired rich experience in socialist economic management. The current 5-year period is marked by a particularly active search for more efficient methods for improving the economic mechanism. The study and assimilation of the best experience acquired in this area through the joint practice of the fraternal countries is assuming prime significance. This aspect of the matter was emphasized at the June 1984 Moscow summit meeting of CEMA members, which deemed it useful to intensify the collective efforts of communist and workers parties and governments in exchanging experience in economic construction.

This reference manual, which came out last year, has triggered a great deal of interest because it is the first of its kind in both Soviet and foreign literature to present in a popular style a brief characterization of the basic elements of the economic mechanism currently used by the members of the socialist community, not only those which have covered the lengthy road of building a new society but also those in which the foundations for socialism are merely being laid and consolidated.

For the sake of convenience, the material dealing with different countries follows the same pattern of presentation: organizational structure; management structure; planning system; material and technical procurements; price setting; contribution of economic organizations to the budget; wages and other forms of material rewards; financing the development of production; construction management; management of the agroindustrial complex; management of foreign economic activities; participation of the working people in production management and socialist competition. The extensive factual and statistical data found in these sections end with the year 1983.

As this enumeration indicates, industry has not been singled out in a separate section. This was done deliberately, for its planning and management system are the main content of all sections, as one can easily see. Thus, in

studying the organizational structure of management in the GDR, the reader is informed about the main management link in industry, construction and other economic sectors in the republic, such as the combines. In 1981 the republic had 157 centrally administered combines, i.e., combines under the jurisdiction of the respective ministries. They were production associations meeting the needs of the national economy and the population for goods in the production of which they had specialized. To this effect the combines concentrate within themselves the necessary production and scientific and technical potential, procurements and marketing (including foreign trade, for which purpose they include foreign trade organizations and firms supervised by the Ministry of Foreign Trade). A combine consists of enterprises which retain their economic and juridical identity.

What is important is that converting to management through combines enables the GDR successfully to resolve the problem of applying the achievements of scientific and technical progress in production, for the combines have extensive rights and obligations in this area, ranging from research and technical development to the production of new items. Virtually all sectorial scientific research institutes, design organizations, experimental systems and testing facilities are under their jurisdiction.

Let us add that the combines operate on a cost accounting basis and ensure the fast renovation of output, high quality and competitiveness in foreign markets. Another interesting fact is that it is only the respective minister who has the right to issue instructions to the combine's general director who, as a rule, heads the combine's leading enterprise. It is thus that the broadening of the rights and obligations of the combines and their increased autonomy and responsibilities tangibly affect the increased efficiency of socialist output.

The need for immediate and energetic measures related to the entire set of management problems facing our country was noted at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It was emphasized that while developing the centralized principle even further in the solution of strategic problems, we must continue to advance more boldly in broadening enterprise rights and autonomy and apply cost accounting and, on this basis, upgrade the responsibility and interest of labor collectives in end work results.

Noteworthy from this point of view is the attention and experience in organizing the agroindustrial complex in Hungary. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, which controls agricultural production and services, trade, the industry processing agricultural raw materials and other structural units economically related to these sectors, is in charge of the planned management of the APK [agroindustrial complexes]. Trusts are an important link in the APK administrative structure (canning, meat and dairy industry, grain), and so are associations (refrigeration industry enterprises, trade in fruits and vegetables, etc.). The trust industrial enterprises purchase the production of the agroindustrial enterprises on a contractual basis, process it and market it through the trade system. In Hungary the agroindustrial sphere is managed on the basis of self-financing and the broad autonomy of economic organizations. The private plots are "included" in the system of

planned APK management through contracts and the integration of such plots with the public farms.

The work discusses at length the participation of the working people in production management and the socialist competition. For example, the general meeting of labor collectives or, in the case of large enterprises, the meeting of representatives, are the basic methods of participation of the Bulgarian working people in management. Workers account for no less than 50 percent of the members of the economic committee, whose sessions are chaired by the enterprise director. The economic committee approves the production assignments of the enterprise's subdivisions and its revenue and expenditure accounts. It periodically discusses the reports submitted by the administration on the results of economic activities and formulates and implements measures aimed at upgrading production efficiency. The economic committees work in close contact with the trade union committees.

The brigade form of labor organization was organized under the conditions of the Bulgarian economic mechanism. The brigade general meeting elects the brigade's council. The brigade members discuss and adopt the counterplans, participate in resolving problems of worker hiring and firing, distribution of collective earnings, assessment of individual labor contributions, etc. The implementation of governmental assignments is taken into consideration in summing up competition results, in addition to criteria and conditions such as indicators of intraeconomic and brigade cost accounting among brigades, links and individual workers; implementation of the profit plan (with the planned growth of labor productivity and reduced outlays of raw and other materials, fuel and energy) among economic organizations and their subdivisions.

These are merely a few examples taken from the manual. We are fully justified in saying that this work provides a huge amount of data on the variety of experiences acquired by CEMA member countries, which could benefit a wide range of readers, particularly those interested in the advancement of the economic mechanism in the fraternal countries.

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CSO: 1802/16

## SWEDISH PATRIOT AND INTERNATIONALIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85) pp 125-126

[Review by Yu. Komarov, candidate of historical sciences, of the book "Sven Linderut--Patriot i Internatsionalist" [Sven Linderut--Patriot and Internationalist]. Translated from the Swedish. Preface and editing by Doctor of Historical Sciences O. V. Chernysheva. Progress, Moscow, 1983, 278 pages]

[Text] The collection of works by Sven Linderut (1889-1956), the noted personality of the Soviet workers movement and one of the founders and leaders of the Swedish Communist Party, has been published by Izdatelstvo Progress. The collection includes reports delivered at SCP congresses, speeches at the Riksdag, newspaper and journal articles, excerpts from books and other materials from the period of Linderut's activities in leading positions between 1924 and 1948. Throughout his work in the party, Linderut waged a tireless struggle against opportunists and dissidents in the ranks of the SCP, firmly rebuffed attacks on the party from the outside, fruitfully developed the theoretical foundations for party work and ideological problems of the class struggle and successfully guided the solution of practical problems.

The materials in the collection are in chronological order. The only exception is the 1942 article "The Revolutionary Tradition," with which the work opens and which deals with the 25th anniversary of the SCP. The article provides a concise yet extensive description of the main aspects of party development since its founding, including the ideological struggle waged within the Swedish labor movement. It was during that difficult period that the communist party was established and, as S. Linderut notes, despite all difficulties experienced in the course of its ideological development and practical activities, had become a strong mass party by the time of its 25th anniversary (see pp 32-33).

The chronological list of publications opens with an article about V. I. Lenin--Linderut's reaction to the death of the leader of the international proletariat. In expressing his profound sorrow and pain on the occasion of the immeasurable loss suffered by the workers the world over, and in noting the tremendous influence which Lenin and Leninism had on the Swedish and international workers movement, Linderut confidently wrote that "the significance of Lenin's activities will grow with every passing year" (p 35).

This statement is vividly confirmed in all other materials included in the collection.

The thought that cohesion and unity of action among all units are a mandatory prerequisite for the successful struggle of the working class runs throughout the collection. This topic is extensively covered in Linderut's speech at the 7th Comintern Congress. He fully supported the main idea of the congress--concentrating the efforts of the toiling masses on the struggle against the threat of a world war and fascism and for the creation of a broad popular front. S. Linderut closely related the struggle waged by the communist party for the solution of these problems to the need for a proper tactic of the united front to be used in trade union work (see pp 77-78) and for increasing communist influence in the trade unions.

S. Linderut considered this one of the crucial sectors in party activities, for already at that time the Swedish trade unions had rallied 70-80 percent of the workers, compared to no more than 10 percent in France (see p 78). Linderut exposed the policy of so-called "industrial partnership" with the help of which Swedish reformist leaders and monopoly capital were trying to smooth class contradictions, set the trade unions on the path of class cooperation and intensify the division within the working class.

The materials included in the collection extensively cover the antifascist activities of the Swedish Communist Party and its extensive efforts to develop a national democratic movement against the fascist onslaught. S. Linderut, who was a passionate antifascist, persistently proved that "fascism means war" and particularly emphasized that "the Soviet Union is the only state which could be described as a reliable bulwark of peace. Socialism is the only guarantee against war" (p 82). S. Linderut comprehensively substantiated the thought of the universal historical role of the Soviet Union as a bulwark of peace, democracy and progress. His words that "lies about the Soviet Union and the slandering of the great socialist fatherland of the international proletariat harms the cause of the working class and socialism and benefits fascism" (p 102) sound topical. Linderut tirelessly emphasized that "the Soviet Union would like to maintain friendly relations with Sweden" (p 140) and called for the establishment of close economic, cultural and political ties with the Soviet Union, considering this one of the most important means of defending Swedish freedom and independence. He thoroughly argued that Sweden cannot be threatened from the east, for that is where the Soviet Union is, which, by virtue of its very nature "can be nothing but peaceful" (p 139).

Reality constantly faced S. Linderut with crucial and difficult problems of relations between communists and social democrats. He actively opposed the policy of class cooperation pursued by the social democrats, emphasizing that "a firm line on matters of domestic policy or of the struggle waged by the working class as a whole cannot be formulated without a proper attitude toward cooperation among classes as a political principle" (p 193). In exposing the conciliationist policy of the social democratic leadership, S. Linderut favored cooperation "with all honest members of the Social Democratic Party" (p 145).



Questions of relations between workers and peasants are treated extensively in the collection. Linderut considered their unification as a prime party task, in order that they may oppose the predatory policy of monopoly capital (see pp 182-185).

S. Linderut's participation in the initial phase of the dialogue between communists and Christians and the establishment of contacts between them in the struggle for a lasting peace on earth is of great interest. "We must," he said, "rally anyone who honestly aspires for peace--Christian, socialist, communist, etc.--in order to wage a systematic struggle against the forces of war and reaction and for the establishment of true democracy within the country and in international relations" (p 249).

Particular attention is paid in the collection to problems of bourgeois democracy and the gap between words and actions, which is so typical of it. At the same time, S. Linderut always spoke out in defense of the acquired rights and freedoms and against the attack mounted at them by the right-wing forces, frequently backed by the social democrats.

Linderut systematically supported the unification of all truly democratic forces, with a view to attaining the type of democracy which would exclude militaristic hysteria and the power of the purse, a democracy which would make the freedom and happiness of his Swedish people possible (see p 269).

S. Linderut's reports, speeches and articles included in the collection comprehensively cover the activities of the SCP during a long and important period in its history. They also recreate the broad panoramic view of Swedish historical development and the sharp confrontation between revolutionary and reactionary forces in the 1920s-1940s. Furthermore, the problems discussed in the collection allow us to understand better the specifics and characteristic features of the communist and labor movements in Sweden at the present stage, the more so since many such problems have retained their relevance.

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## BOOKSHELF

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85) p 126

[Text] 1. Lenin, V. I. "Izbrannyye Sochineniya" [Selected Works]. In 10 volumes. Volume 4, 1905-1907. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 641 pp.

2. "Vladimir Ilich Lenin." Biographical chronicle 1870-1924. Reference volume. M. P. Mchedlov and A. M. Sovokin general editors. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 502 pp.

3. "Kommunisticheskaya Partiya Sovetskogo Soyuza v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh Sezdov, Konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK (1898-1986)" [The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses and Conferences and Central Committee Plenums (1898-1986)]. Volume 7, 1938-1945. Ninth expanded and revised edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 574 pp.

4. "Sorokaletiyе Pobedy Sovetskogo Naroda v Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voinе" [Fortieth Anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War]. Documents and materials. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 111 pp.

5. Gorbachev, M. S. "Bessmertnyy Podvig Sovetskogo Naroda" [The Immortal Exploit of the Soviet People]. Speech delivered at the ceremony held at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War on 8 May 1985. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 31 pp.

6. Gorbachev, M. S. "Nastoychivo Dvigatsya Vpered" [Move Ahead Persistently]. Speech at the meeting of the aktiv of the Leningrad party organization on 17 May 1985. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 31 pp.

7. Gorbachev, M. S. "Korennoy Vopros Ekonomicheskoy Politiki Partii" [Basic Problem of Party Economic Policy]. Speech at a CPSU Central Committee conference on problems of accelerating scientific and technical progress, held on 11 June 1985. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 32 pp.

8. "Vstrecha Vysshikh Partiynykh i Gosudarstvennykh Deyateley Stran-Uchastnits Varshavskogo Dogovora, Varshava, 26 Aprelya 1985 Goda" [Meeting of High Party and State Leaders of Warsaw Pact Members, Warsaw, 26 April 1985]. Documents and materials. V. V. Sharapov responsible for publication. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 32 pp.

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CSO: 1802/16

## AFTER THE PUBLICATION OF KOMMUNIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 85 (signed to press 3 Jul 85) pp 127-128

[Text] 'Revolutionary Dialectics and Marxist Realism'

By Academician V. Ambartsumyan, Byurakan Astrophysical Observatory:

Last January KOMMUNIST published the article "Revolutionary Dialectics of Marxist Realism" on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the publication of V. I. Lenin's work "On the Question of Dialectics." On behalf of the natural scientists, particularly those among us, who are interested in the philosophical problems of the natural sciences, I welcome this article which emphasizes the significance of Lenin's view of dialectics as a theory of knowledge and the role played by contradictions, internal contradictions above all, in the development of nature, society and the process of knowledge.

It is precisely reliance on Lenin's understanding of dialectics which enabled the Soviet astrophysicists to give priority to the concept of the decisive significance of nonstationary processes in the life of astronomical objects and to develop the theoretical understanding of the nature of a number of most important types of such processes. For example, following the discovery of radiogalaxies and after their amazing features became known, the view that radiogalaxies appeared as a result of the accidental collision of two previously independent ordinary galaxies became widely popular in specialized and popular journals. A detailed study of the matter, however, indicated that this view had no relation to reality. The profound study of observation data led Soviet astrophysicists to the conclusion that each radiogalaxy is the result of the development of internal processes occurring within the nuclei of the respective galaxies. As a result of the struggle of forces within the nuclei huge flows of matter are released and leave the nuclei. The hypothesis of accidental collisions was filed away and broad concepts on the activeness of galactic nuclei, which proved to be quite important in contemporary extragalactic astronomy, were formulated on the basis of the latest data on radiogalaxies and on the processes of the draining of matter from the nuclei of such cosmic formations.

Soviet astrophysicists are fully entitled to be proud of such accomplishments. I would also like to cite another example related to contradictions in the study of nature itself.

We know that one of the comprehensively studied areas of astrophysics is the theory of the inner structure of stars. This is not only a systematically developed formal mathematical system. This theory has been able to explain numerous phenomena noted in the stellar world, such as a huge number of facts relative to stellar light and temperature.

In recent decades, however, astrophysics has concentrated on an entirely new group of phenomena related to stellar flares and the features relative to their manifestation. Unfortunately, efforts to explain all the laws governing such dynamic cosmic events on the basis of said formal theory of the inner structure of stars proved unsuccessful. It is true that the established patterns did not disprove the theory. Nevertheless, the helplessness of the latter to resolve the problem called for great caution.

The contradiction turned out to be related to a fundamental characteristic of stars: their ability to release a huge quantity of energy in a state of equilibrium. According to the theory of their inner structure, the source of such emanation is found in the thermonuclear reactions which take place in the central areas of the stars (the sun in particular), reduced to the synthesis of the helium and hydrogen nuclei. It turns out that this source of energy would enable the sun to radiate it for billions of years.

Therefore, we receive from the both the usual electromagnetic (light) radiation and a flow of neutrino. The theory of the internal structure of stars enables us to compute the value of the neutrino flow on the basis of the visible solar radiation and its surface temperature. It has also been established that the flow under as actually observed is several hundred percent weaker than was computed theoretically.

This gave rise to one of the sharpest contradictions in modern astrophysics. It is becoming increasingly likely that its elimination will not be possible with simple corrections of the existing model of the inner structure of the sun, such as by changing the numerical values of some of the parameters used in the theory.

Such conflicts have broken out repeatedly in the history of astrophysics and in scientific knowledge in general. The usual result is a change of ideas and the establishment of entirely new concepts. The possibility of extensive progress in such a previously unknown area comes to the fore.

These examples clearly prove the accuracy of Lenin's words: "...Dialectics is inherent in all human knowledge."

By Academician B. Kedrov:

I would like to point out the timeliness of the editorial "Revolutionary Dialectics of Marxist Realism" in KOMMUNIST No 1, 1985. It convincingly supports V. I. Lenin's philosophical views and understanding of Marxist

dialectics, its integral nature and the impossibility of fragmenting it into some sort of allegedly separate "structural components." The defense and substantiation of the scientific method of ascending from the abstract to the concrete, in accordance with which Lenin persistently recommended that dialectics itself be presented, are particularly important. Nevertheless, to this day the authors of some works on dialectics prefer to present it arbitrarily and even simply as a sum total of examples, although, for some reason, they stubbornly ignore Lenin's direct instructions. That is why the appeal contained in the KOMMUNIST editorial of finally assuming a serious attitude toward Lenin's behest is entirely timely. More such articles should be printed in our philosophy journals, FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI in particular.

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